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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

LEBANON

PART 5

January to December 1951

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

LEBANON—PART 5

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

EL 1011/1

No. 1

LEBANON: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1950

Sir W. Houstoun-Boswall to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)

(No. 3. Confidential) *Beirut,*
Sir, *9th January, 1951.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the Annual Review of the Lebanon for the year 1950, for the compilation of which I am much indebted to the Head of the Chancery, Mr. R. W. Bailey.

I have, &c.

W. E. HOUSTOUN-BOSWALL.

Enclosure in No. 1

Despite the severe strains and stresses both internal and external to which his Government was subjected, Riad Bey Solh remained at the helm throughout the year and apart from a slight reshuffle in March which brought in Khalil Abi Jawde as Minister of Information, there were no changes of significance in the composition of the Cabinet. In January there were signs that the President of the Republic was seeking to disengage himself from the irksome partnership with the Prime Minister, but it was not until June that the President's brother Sheikh Selim el Khoury (the *eminence grise* of the Lebanon, and generally known as "The Sultan") made a determined but unsuccessful effort to oust Riad Bey Solh. The suspension of the Chief of Police, Nasser Bey Raad, by the Prime Minister in his capacity of Minister of the Interior for having interrogated without ministerial sanction a journalist who enjoyed the Prime Minister's protection provided Sheikh Selim with a pretext for a quarrel which lasted for several months and which took place in the full limelight of press publicity. At one point the risk of an armed clash between the supporters of the two protagonists was only avoided through the direct intervention of the President of the Republic, who realised that if the quarrel were allowed to develop there was a grave risk that it

might be the spark to ignite a communal conflict between the Maronite supporters of Sheikh Selim from the mountains and the Prime Minister's Sunni Moslem toughs. And yet it so happens that Nasser Raad is a Moslem. With the secessionist movement strong amongst the Moslem population in the Tripoli area such a conflict might release other centrifugal forces and lead to the disintegration of the Lebanon as an independent State. After nearly three months' suspension the Chief of Police returned to his post. Although the Prime Minister gave way on this point he gained generally in prestige and won the support of many, both Christian and Moslem, who resented this manifestation of the incessant interference in the affairs of State of a person holding no official position.

With the prospect of elections in the spring of 1951, the President has been seeking every opportunity to strengthen his own position and secure the return of another docile Chamber. Opponents of the régime have long pointed to the objections inherent in the *scrutin de liste* electoral system whereby the choice of members in each electoral district is virtually in the hands of a single "party boss." Henri Bey Pharaon having been a victim of the system in the 1947 elections and not content to take a back seat (for which he is reported to have paid handsomely) began to agitate for a system of a larger number of constituencies each returning a small number of members. The President negotiated a successful compromise which Henri Bey Pharaon accepted, whereby the electoral districts of the two Shia feudal leaders, Ahmed Bey el Assad in South Lebanon and Sabri Bey Hamadi in the Bekaa, who between them control 16 out of the 55 seats in the present Chamber in the interests of the President, were left unaffected, while the two constituencies of North Lebanon and Mount Lebanon were

each divided into three, making 8 electoral districts in all; thus it was agreed to increase the number of seats in the new Chamber from 55 to 77. In this way, the President will be able to extend his patronage to include a number of notabilities who had been unable to find seats in the previous Chamber. Some ex-Parliamentary objection by a Maronite Patriarch was out-manoeuvred by the speed with which the Bill passed through the Chamber and received the Presidential endorsement.

As the year drew to a close, several Opposition elements coalesced in an endeavour to present a united front against the Government. The weakness of the Opposition lies in its lack of permanent figures other than Camille Chamoun, and by the fact that it is largely a Maronite grouping. It will be further weakened if the President is successful in his attempts to persuade Kamal Jumblatt, the eccentric Druze leader of the Progressive Socialist Party, to join the Governmental side. There were persistent rumours that Riad Bey Solh would withdraw to enable a "neutral" Government possibly under the premiership of Hussein Aweini, the present Minister of Finance, who has announced that he does not intend to seek re-election in 1951, but Riad Bey Solh, knowing that once out of power many of his supporters would desert him, was reluctant to go, and the President fearing his power with the Moslems did not feel sufficiently strong to dismiss him. The display of hooliganism on the Prophet's birthday on 22nd December, when dynamite explosions and continuous revolver shooting were reminiscent of London under bombardment, was widely thought to have been a demonstration of strength by Riad Bey Solh. The Christians retaliated on Christmas Eve with a like demonstration. Two persons were killed and over 40 injured on these two nights, and the effect on the more stable elements of the public was one of disgust and fear of the consequences that so many lethal weapons should be in the hands of irresponsibles. The general effect was to weaken the position of the Riad Bey Solh Government.

It is not surprising that with a heavily armed and ill-disciplined population the daily toll of murders continues. The judicial sanctions applied are in many cases derisory whilst attenuating circumstances are discovered to justify nominal sentences for the most dastardly crimes. Continual amnesties further reduce the efficacy of the law. A much-publicised campaign by the army against outlaws in the Bekaa produced little

material results since all but one escaped to the hills, but the campaign at least had the merit of dispersing the bandits and putting some heart into the respectable villagers. There is less police supervision than ever before over motor drivers, and during the summer months when traffic on the precipitous mountain roads is at its height there were numerous accidents, many of them fatal. An outstanding example of the flouting of the law is the extensive and uncamouflaged cultivation of hashish in the Bekaa, principally by landowners closely associated with the régime. None of this is consumed in the country, and of course no figures of the extent of the cultivation are available, but the export value of the crop is variously assessed as being between £5 million and £10 million annually.

Many schemes for the development of the country remain shelved or forgotten. Water and electricity are still a pressing problem in the mountain areas and the various schemes to harness the hydro-electric resources of the country are still "under consideration." The general deterioration of the Government's financial position is reflected in the fall of the Reserve Fund from £Leb.48 million to under £Leb.2 million during the course of the year. This is attributed to extraordinary expenditure not covered by the budget. On the other hand much work has been put into re-aligning and resurfacing roads, with the result that most parts of the Lebanon can be reached by all-weather asphalt roads. Khaldé airport is now in operation for both day and night traffic, and can take the largest airliners in regular service, but a good deal has still to be done to improve the passenger reception facilities. The Trans-Arabian pipeline linking the Dhahran oilfields in Saudi-Arabia with Zahrani near Sidon was put into operation at the end of the year. The outflow amounts to approximately 300,000 barrels of crude oil daily. A social insurance scheme, when examined by British experts, was found to be generally impracticable, but it is understood that further efforts are being made to produce a more reasonable scheme.

On 1st April the United Nations Relief and Works Agency with its headquarters in Beirut took over the functions of the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees Administration, with the object of using the unemployed refugees on capital projects which would be of lasting benefit to the country, and which might otherwise not have been constructed. By the end of the year, however, little progress had been made. The presence of 140,000 refugees is a disturbing

factor, not only economically, but also politically to the Lebanon, since most of the refugees are Moslems and there is widespread alarm lest by permanently settling in this country the delicate balance between Christian and Moslem should be upset. Despite the fact that a unanimous Cabinet decision is required for a grant of Lebanese nationality to a Palestinian refugee, and despite the regulations preventing the employment of non-Lebanese without a work certificate, many of the more enterprising have obtained employment, opened small shops and generally found a place for themselves outside the camps. In relation to its size and resources, the Lebanon has made a most generous and substantial contribution, largely in kind, by providing housing, food, medical and other facilities for large numbers of the refugees. Any attempt to provide them with employment immediately stirs up serious resentment from the large numbers of unemployed Lebanese.

The equivocal attitude of the authorities towards communism has changed slightly for the better, at least on paper. The announcement was made of the setting up of a special anti-Communist Department in the *Sûreté Générale*, but the funds allocated for the purpose are manifestly inadequate. A British Security Adviser has been appointed to advise on security and police matters. In the absence of a clearly-defined anti-Communist legislation, most of the measures taken by the Government have been largely in the nature of window-dressing. Mustafa El Ariss, one of the leaders of the party in the Lebanon, spent most of the year in prison on charges of incitement to disorder, but disappeared underground immediately on release. A number of his minions received sentences of two months' imprisonment on charges of distributing seditious pamphlets.

The major preoccupation of the Government and the main factor affecting the economic life of the country has been the question of relations with Syria, and particularly commercial relations, following the economic rupture in March, when the Syrian Government unilaterally announced the end of the Customs Union. Talks at the official and at governmental level continued throughout the rest of the year with a view to finding some *modus vivendi*. The Lebanon being in the main an entrepôt country, with Syria as its principal customer, suffered considerably and was therefore in the weaker bargaining position. Tripoli, which acted as a supply centre for Northern

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Syria, was more affected than Beirut by the virtual closing of the frontier to trade and the movement for secession to Syria always strong in that area received added impetus. The Government was alarmed and immediately announced schemes for the enlarging of the port, the setting up of a *zone franche* and the negotiation of a commercial treaty with Iraq. The latter was signed, but although the Minister of Public Works paid a personal visit to His Majesty's Legation to secure the names of British firms which could survey and develop the port, like so many other schemes, nothing more was heard of it as soon as the immediate danger had passed, and it has every appearance of having been shelved. When the citrus crop ripened in December and could not be exported to its traditional market in Syria, action by the Lebanese Government was imperative. Failure to reach agreement with Syria led to a recrudescence of irredentist movement amongst the Moslem population of Tripoli, and although at the end of the year the frontier had been opened to Lebanese agricultural and manufactured products subject to import licences and to the payment of customs dues, the uneasiness engendered continued.

The economic difficulties with Syria, from which the Lebanon derived in the main its supplies of wheat, meat and, to some extent, vegetables, led to a steady increase in the already high cost of living, which was to some very slight extent offset by a fall in the price of imported goods as the Lebanese pound strengthened in terms of the dollar and sterling. In the latter half of the year the Korean war led to hoarding by importers and the upward trend corresponded to the reverses of the United Nations forces and the fear of a world conflagration. As the year ended it was found that the Lebanese Government's supposed stocks of wheat were non-existent and owing to the failure of Syrian supplies the price of bread rose by over 20 per cent. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was instructed to open negotiations with France for the purchase of 25,000 tons of wheat.

The presence of a well-armed Israel on the southern border continued to be the cause of anxiety, tempered to some extent by the publication of the tripartite statement by Britain, America and France guaranteeing the countries of the Middle East protection and freedom from aggression. There has been some doubt about the real efficacy of these promises in the light of the commitments which the Western

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Powers have been forced to assume in Korea. A slight tendency towards a more accommodating attitude towards Israel was brusquely reversed by the attack by an Israeli fighter aircraft on a Lebanese civil airliner over Lebanese territory on 24th July, which caused an outburst of popular indignation and which led the Government to close completely the frontier with Israel.

Turkey's recognition of Israel and her failure to subscribe to the views of the Arab States on questions affecting Palestine led these countries to view with some apprehension the election of Turkey to the seat previously occupied by Egypt on the Security Council. The Arab States accordingly persuaded the Lebanon to present her candidature, although from the outset the Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs realised that with Britain and America already pledged to support Turkey the chances of election were slight. In the actual voting a stalemate ensued, neither side securing the necessary two-thirds majority. After the question had been put to the vote a number of times (and at one point the Lebanon had obtained 30 votes as against Turkey's 32) the Lebanon withdrew, albeit somewhat belatedly and left the field open to Turkey. The generally co-operative attitude of the Lebanon over Korea was marred by failure to support the motion endorsing United Nations action in order to gain the tactical advantage of not offending the Soviet *bloc*, which had voted for the Lebanon. The short-sightedness of this policy was quickly appreciated.

Relations with Britain continued to be cordial and the Lebanese were flattered by successive visits by Vice-Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Admiral Sir John Edelsten, the Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean, and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. Two pipers from H.M.S. *Liverpool* so impressed the Lebanese Commander-in-Chief that a pipe band has been formed in the Lebanese army. There was

an increasing tendency to look to Britain for expert advice. In addition to the British Security Adviser, a Royal Air Force officer has been seconded to advise on the development of the Lebanese Air Force, whilst British assistance has been sought in connexion with the organisation of civil defence. In international affairs the Lebanese have been generally co-operative, except when such co-operation might bring them into conflict with the other members of the Arab League or when their own direct interests were affected. Owing to pressure from their own aircraft operators, they have made difficulties over the question of landing rights for British commercial aircraft. Imports from the United Kingdom totalled some £3 million sterling against exports to the United Kingdom of some £400,000. The main commodities imported are motor vehicles, metal goods, textiles and chemical and pharmaceutical products. Syria was the Lebanon's most valuable trading partner, followed by France and the United States, whilst the United Kingdom fell to fourth place as a supplier. It must be remembered, however, in this connexion that this is the first year in which separate figures have been available for the Lebanon.

By and large it can be said that, despite the fissures in the structure of the Lebanon and which may in time of stress constitute a fundamental threat to the existence of the State, communal troubles were avoided and Lebanese independence remained unaffected. The breakdown of the Customs Union caused some hardship, but the Lebanon remains a comparatively prosperous little country, enjoying a much higher standard of living than any of her Arab neighbours. It is this fact which undoubtedly provides the cement which binds the discordant elements of the country into a single unit, which may or may not withstand the test of time and stresses of economic uncertainty.

EL 1022/1

No. 2

LEBANESE FOREIGN POLICY

Sir W. Houstoun-Boswall to Mr. Bevin. (Received 16th January)

(No. 30) *Beirut,*
(Telegraphic) 16th January, 1951.

Minister for Foreign Affairs told me this morning that on 15th January the Lebanese Cabinet, meeting with the President of the Republic in the chair, with the addition of

Hamid Frangieh (former Minister for Foreign Affairs), Habib Abi Chahla (former President of the Chamber) and Abdullah Yafi (president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber), had unanimously decided henceforward to align their policy

with that of the Western democracies. Only Henri Pharaon (former Minister for Foreign Affairs) was absent—doubtless for reasons of internal policy—but I have no doubt he would have associated himself with the others had he been able to obtain permission for himself to be present.

2. I thanked the Minister and told him that I felt sure you would be very gratified to learn of this wise affirmation of policy.

3. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that I was the first of my colleagues to be told this.

EL 1022/1

No. 3

LEBANESE FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Bevin to Sir W. Houstoun-Boswall (Beirut)

(No. 45) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) 21st January, 1951.

Your telegram No. 30.

Please express to Minister for Foreign Affairs my appreciation of the Lebanese Government's decision. We were in no doubt as regards the direction of Lebanon's

sympathies, but we welcome this concrete evidence of her wish to collaborate with us in the defence of civilisation.

2. Please report whether Lebanese Government contemplate making any formal announcement.

EL 1016/18

No. 4

POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Bailey to Mr. Morrison. (Received 8th June)

(No. 305) *Beirut,*
(Telegraphic) 8th June, 1951.

My telegram No. 300.

Composition of new Government was announced mid-day 7th June as follows:—

Abdullah Yafi, Prime Minister and Interior;
Phillippe Boulos, Deputy Prime Minister and Public Works;
Emile Lahoude, Education;
Philippe Tacla, Finance and National Economy;
Joseph Hrawi, Agriculture;
Bahij Takieddin, Health and Social Affairs;
Charles Helou, Foreign Affairs;
Rashid Beydoun, Defence;

Mohammed Safieddin, P.T.T. and Information;
Rashid Kerame, Justice.

2. Bahij Takieddin resigned this afternoon and is being replaced by Bekhir el-Awar.

3. Mohammed Safieddin (Shia) is a lawyer from Sidon, born about 1915. Rashid Kerame (Sunni Moslem), son of late Abdul Hamid Kerame of Tripoli, born about 1925, completed law student in Cairo last year. Bekhir el-Awar (Druze), born 1908, from Kormayel in the Metn, was a judge of Tregoli till three months ago. All the remainder figure in our 1950 personalities list.

EL 1016/21

No. 5

POLICY OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Bailey to Mr. Morrison. (Received 27th June)

(No. 72. Confidential) *Beirut,*
Sir, 20th June, 1951.

I have the honour to report that on 19th June Abdullah Bey Yafi presented his Government's programme to the new Chamber of Deputies and, after it had been

debated, he received a vote of confidence of fifty-two votes against twenty-three with one abstention.

2. He began his speech by paying a brief tribute to his predecessor, Hussein Bey Aoucini, and by expressing his appreciation

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of the confidence which the President of the Republic had shown in him by inviting him to form the new Government. Abdullah Bey Yafi said that he did not intend to arouse false hopes by making lavish promises. His Government's programme would be limited to what could be effectively achieved, and he had no illusions about the possibility of realising desirable objectives by a mere wave of the wand. He undertook, however, to bring to the conduct of public affairs goodwill, firmness and sincerity, and to use his tenure of office to inaugurate an era of peace, tranquillity and reconstruction.

3. On the international plane his Government was determined to safeguard the independence of sovereignty of the Lebanon and to maintain maximum co-operation with the Arab League and with the United Nations. They would continue to give full support and assistance to their brothers from Palestine with a view to reaching a just solution which would guarantee to them the proper enjoyment of their rights in honourable security. They would also take an active interest in strengthening the ties which bound Lebanese overseas to their native country.

4. On the home front the Government proposed to devote its principal efforts to improving the economic position of the country, and in this field their policy could be summed up in the words "work and increased production." It was their intention to step up production in industry, agriculture, the tourist trade, commerce, public services and all other sectors of economic life. In particular, they hoped to reduce the present high unemployment figure. Encouragement of industry would take the form of assistance to viable national enterprises, and their protection against foreign competition by facilitating the import of raw materials and so reducing production costs. In the agricultural field the Government intended to press on with irrigation projects and with the construction of new hydro-electric plants in order to increase the area of the country under cultivation and to introduce more mechanisation. Co-operatives would be encouraged and credits would be given to farmers for the purchase of agricultural equipment. Eight hundred thousand dunums of State land in the mountains was to be parcelled out among peasants for reforestation, and a certain amount of cultivable land was also to be sold to peasants at reasonable prices on the basis of long-term credits.

5. Though the Government realised that freedom of commerce was essential to the interests of the Lebanon, measures would have to be taken to close the present gap between imports and exports, and everything possible would be done to find fresh markets abroad. Last-minute difficulties had made it impossible for the outgoing Government to reach a final agreement with Syria on economic relations between the two countries, but the present Government would continue to work for a satisfactory solution of this problem. The Prime Minister assured the Chamber that though Government expenditure on projects which had not yet borne full fruit had in recent years been high, the financial position of the country was completely sound and no fears need be entertained on that score.

6. A fresh budget would be presented in due course, and the Government was convinced that one of its first duties was to increase the country's monetary reserves. To achieve this there would have to be ruthless cuts in unproductive expenditure and this would fit in with the Government's economic policy of concentrating on useful projects which would pay good dividends. Immediate legislation would be required in the financial field, and the Chamber would soon be presented with Bills designed to revise the land tax, the tax on limited liability companies and the tax on water undertakings. The Chamber would also be asked to vote a proper civil service code; a disproportionate amount of the State resources was at present being spent on the Administration, which was in need of reorganisation. The previous Chamber had passed a Bill setting up a State Audit Office and this would now be implemented.

7. The Prime Minister then turned to other aspects of the national life. The Government would see that the current programmes for health and public assistance were carried out, with particular attention to the protection of children, and they would co-operate with the local authorities to ensure that public health legislation was properly enforced and hospital services improved. In the educational field the Government would take the first steps towards the founding of a national university by instituting courses of higher education in subjects not covered by the two existing universities. Primary education would be made available to all children, and particular attention would be paid to the development of agricultural and technical schools, which could make a great

contribution to the Lebanese economy and to the raising of the standard of living in the villages.

8. The Prime Minister then announced that military training was to be introduced into the school curriculum as financial considerations made it impossible for the country to have as large a regular army as was desirable. The armed forces would, however, be made as strong as possible both on the ground and in the air.

9. In the social field the Government would see that the recently created Department of Social Affairs was suitably organised and would present the Chamber with fresh Social and Medical Insurance Bills, adapted to the social requirements and financial limitations of the country. Everything possible would be done to improve the lot of the worker and his family, and to make them feel that they were useful members of the community.

10. The Prime Minister then touched briefly on a number of subsidiary points in the Government's programme. The campaign against the traffic in drugs would be energetically pursued; work would go ahead on the installation of an automatic telephone system in Beirut and of the extension of the telephone to outlying villages; news services would be improved; due regard would be paid to the liberty of the press and amendments to the present press law would be introduced if experience showed this to be necessary.

11. A programme such as this, said the Prime Minister, could only be carried out in an atmosphere of order and tranquillity. This, and the citizen's right to the exercise of his fundamental liberties, the Government was determined to maintain. The Lebanon was blessed with an independent magistrature which served as a guarantee against interference with the course of justice but various steps would be taken to expedite legal proceedings. An electoral law would also be introduced, on the basis of the *scrutin uninominal*, and this law would also, for the first time, give women the right to vote and to be elected to the Chamber. Municipal councils would be elected throughout the Lebanon and in general there would be a move towards greater decentralisation of the administrative machine. The proposed judicial and electoral reforms would contribute to this end and he hoped that this policy would give a fresh lease of life to the villages, and

attract the population away from the principal towns which were overcrowded.

12. In his peroration the Prime Minister again stressed the fact that an atmosphere of order, liberty and justice was indispensable to the implementation of the Government's programme, but that the Government could not create such an atmosphere without the support of the Chamber and the people. Everyone must be prepared to sacrifice his private interests for the good of the community, and the ideal before them should be that of justice and liberty for all, under the protecting shield of the law.

13. A French translation⁽¹⁾ of the full text of the address is transmitted herewith.

14. The debate which followed the Prime Minister's declaration was lengthy, by Lebanese standards, but not particularly interesting. No serious criticism was made of the Government's programme, and those who eventually voted against it consisted for the most part of the recognised Opposition (the combined National and Socialist Front), and disgruntled Deputies who resented having been passed over in the distribution of portfolios. Most of the speakers who opposed the Government's policy did so, not on the grounds that it was a mistaken policy, but that the Prime Minister and his colleagues were not of sufficient calibre to carry it out.

15. The first speaker was Sami Bey Solh, who had been Abdullah Bey Yafi's principal rival for the post of Prime Minister. He thought that the Government should have announced its intention by taking steps to combat the twin problems of unemployment and emigration. He did not see how they could hope to achieve their present programme with the Treasury nearly empty, and would have liked a clearer statement of the Government's plans for resolving the problem of Lebanese-Syrian relations. Finally, he said that he would vote against the Government because they had no plan for dealing with the rising cost of living, for tackling the housing problem, or for punishing those who enriched themselves by toadying to the powerful. He was followed by another rival for the post of Prime Minister, Saeb Salaam, who confined himself to the question of Syrian-Lebanese economic relations and begged the Government to start fresh negotiations with Syria on the basis of complete economic unity between the two countries.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

16. The next speaker was Maître Pierre Eddé, of the National and Socialist Front. He said that the Government's programme was nothing but a series of high-sounding promises, with no practical plan of action, but rather gave the show away by going on to complain that no member of his party had been included in the Government, and that he and Kamal Bey Jumblatt had not even been consulted by the Prime Minister when the latter was drawing up his programme. Kamal Bey Jumblatt himself spoke on much the same lines later in the debate, but was more specific in his criticisms, and came nearer than any of the other Deputies to offering an alternative programme—albeit a rather utopian one, as the Prime Minister was not slow to point out, when he replied to the debate. Kamal Bey (himself one of the larger landowners in the country) asked for the division of the great landed estates and concrete measures to increase production, combat unemployment, guarantee public liberties, put an end to the exploitation of the people, suppress confessionalism and strengthen the army. Camille Bey Chamoun, another Opposition leader, spoke of the need for a complete overhaul of the Administration, and denied that the Lebanese magistrature could really be considered independent, as claimed by the Prime Minister. Further attacks on the Government's programme as a mass of deceitful promises, incapable of realisation were made by Bahij Bey Takieddin, who was a member of the Government as originally formed by Abdullah Bey Yafi, and Abdullah Bey Hajji, another of the National and Socialist Front Deputies.

17. At this point Habib Bey Abi Chahla delivered a forceful reply to the criticisms which had been levelled against the Government, pointing out that the latter's programme was in many respects identical

with that put forward by the National and Socialist Front. After several other Deputies had spoken, Abdullah Bey Yafi replied to the debate in eloquent terms, claiming that his past political career was the best guarantee of the sincerity of his intentions. The public applause which greeted this statement was too much for the Emir Majid Arslan who interrupted to say that if the Prime Minister hoped to intimidate the Opposition by the volume of the applause he received, he, the Emir, could introduce his own supporters to applaud the Opposition; but Abdullah Yafi replied that he had no need of applause, and that the only object of himself and his colleagues was to satisfy their own conscience.

18. The question of confidence was then put to the vote, with the result which I recorded at the beginning of this despatch. Apart from the National and Socialist Front, the principal Deputies who voted against the Government were Riad Bey Solh, the Emir Majid Arslan, Bahij Bey Takieddin and Sabri Bey Hamadé, the displaced President of the old Chamber. The one abstention came from Hamid Bey Frangieh. The total Opposition vote was slightly larger than had been generally anticipated, but the Government has a very comfortable working majority, and should have no difficulty in getting the Chamber to approve the legislation necessary to implement its programme, if it maintains its cohesion, and gives early proof that it means what it says.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad, Amman, Jedda and Tel Aviv, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

R. W. BAILEY.

ET 10393/6

No. 6

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WITH REGARD TO A PROPOSED UNION OF JORDAN AND IRAQ

Mr. Morrison to Mr. Chapman-Andrews (Beirut)

(No. 551)
(Telegraphic)

Foreign Office,
30th July, 1951.

Your telegrams No. 415, No. 422 and No. 423.

Lebanese Christians are no doubt particularly susceptible on the subject of the *status*

quo. As you will have seen from my telegram No. 720 to Bagdad we do in fact agree that a union between Jordan and Iraq in present circumstances would not be desirable. Our policy in this question is, however, as indicated in paragraph 4 (ii) of that

telegram, and we should not be prepared to make a declaration on the lines suggested by the President. We should wish, moreover, to discourage as far as possible any interference on the part of the Lebanon, or any other Arab State in Jordan affairs.

2. Unless you see objection, therefore, you could reply to the Lebanese President on the following lines:—

(a) We see no reason why the situation in Jordan should not remain stable provided that interference from outside can be reduced to a minimum, and the Jordan Government allowed to settle the affairs of the country without interference.

(b) While we naturally condemn political assassination and insurrection, and would wish to see calm and discipline maintained throughout the Middle East, we do not consider that any special statement of our views on these points is called for. On the other hand, we think it would be most desirable if the leaders of all

Arab States could make declarations condemning political assassination.

(c) Our policy in regard to a projected union between any Middle East States is as indicated in paragraph 4 (ii) of my telegram No. 720 to Bagdad. As the President has mentioned, we are bound by the terms of the Tripartite Declaration to oppose any attempt on the part of any Middle East State to bring about any such union by force. We have no reason to suppose that any such attempt will be made in the case of Jordan.

(d) We welcome the President's actions reported in paragraph 4 of your telegram under reference and are grateful for his *démarche* in regard to Egypt. We consider that in present circumstances the best action that any Arab statesman can take is to discourage interference by any Arab State in the affairs of any of its neighbours.

1192/330

No. 7

LEBANESE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON THE FOUR-POWER PROPOSALS

Mr. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Eden. (Received 21st November)

No. 674)

Beirut,

21st November, 1951.

My Turkish and American colleagues were received yesterday by the Lebanese Prime Minister and spoke about the Four-power proposals, but I decided to take advantage of the discretion you allowed me and await a suitable opportunity rather than seek one. Such an opportunity occurred when the President of the Republic sent for me this evening.

2. In the course of the audience, a full report of which follows by bag, his Excellency himself raised the subject of the effort which Salah el Din is making [? group omitted] Paris. He said Salah el Din was a man with "one single thesis," and was working day and night for it. Such a man always had a marked effect upon people in the throes of indecision. It was not practical politics for any Middle East statesman to be decisively with the Four Powers to-day, and the best thing that could be hoped was that the Arab States should not join Egypt in rejecting. The Lebanon would be the last to agree to do this, but

could not stand alone in opposing. With all respect he would urge the agents of His Majesty's Government to be much more active at Paris in trying to persuade, for example, the Iraqi and Jordan representatives (who were known throughout the Arab world to be our friends) to be more definite in opposing Salah el Din's manoeuvres. The Lebanese delegation had instructions, which had just been reaffirmed, to make the most of any rift that might appear, but it was out of the question for the Lebanon to take the lead in causing a rift. His Majesty's Government should also get the United States Government to work upon the Saudi Arabian representative. Despite his Excellency's appeal, King Ibn Saud had not seen fit to separate the problem of Egyptian national aspirations from that of the Middle East defence, but, on the contrary, had taken a very unhelpful line. The Americans, he thought, were the only people who nowadays might be able to influence Ibn Saud in the right direction.

3. I thanked his Excellency for confiding in me, and urged him once more to see to it

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16. The next speaker was Maître Pierre Eddé, of the National and Socialist Front. He said that the Government's programme was nothing but a series of high-sounding promises, with no practical plan of action, but rather gave the show away by going on to complain that no member of his party had been included in the Government, and that he and Kamal Bey Jumblatt had not even been consulted by the Prime Minister when the latter was drawing up his programme. Kamal Bey Jumblatt himself spoke on much the same lines later in the debate, but was more specific in his criticisms, and came nearer than any of the other Deputies to offering an alternative programme—albeit a rather utopian one, as the Prime Minister was not slow to point out, when he replied to the debate. Kamal Bey (himself one of the larger landowners in the country) asked for the division of the great landed estates and concrete measures to increase production, combat unemployment, guarantee public liberties, put an end to the exploitation of the people, suppress confessionalism and strengthen the army. Camille Bey Chamoun, another Opposition leader, spoke of the need for a complete overhaul of the Administration, and denied that the Lebanese magistrature could really be considered independent, as claimed by the Prime Minister. Further attacks on the Government's programme as a mass of deceitful promises, incapable of realisation were made by Bahij Bey Takieddin, who was a member of the Government as originally formed by Abdullah Bey Yafi, and Abdullah Bey Hajji, another of the National and Socialist Front Deputies.

17. At this point Habib Bey Abi Chahla delivered a forceful reply to the criticisms which had been levelled against the Government, pointing out that the latter's programme was in many respects identical

with that put forward by the National and Socialist Front. After several other Deputies had spoken, Abdullah Bey Yafi replied to the debate in eloquent terms claiming that his past political career was the best guarantee of the sincerity of his intentions. The public applause which greeted this statement was too much for the Emir Majid Arslan who interrupted to say that if the Prime Minister hoped to intimidate the Opposition by the volume of the applause he received, he, the Emir could introduce his own supporters to applaud the Opposition; but Abdullah Yafi replied that he had no need of applause and that the only object of himself and his colleagues was to satisfy their own conscience.

18. The question of confidence was then put to the vote, with the result which recorded at the beginning of this despatch. Apart from the National and Socialist Front, the principal Deputies who voted against the Government were Riad Bey Solh, the Emir Majid Arslan, Bahij Bey Takieddin and Sabri Bey Hamadé, the displaced President of the old Chamber. The one abstention came from Hamid Bey Frangieh. The total Opposition vote was slightly larger than had been generally anticipated, but the Government has a very comfortable working majority, and should have no difficulty in getting the Chamber to approve the legislation necessary to implement its programme, if it maintains its cohesion, and gives early proof that it means what it says.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Damascus, Bagdad, Amman, Jedda and Tel Aviv, and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.
R. W. BAILEY.

ET 10393/6

No. 6

HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S POLICY WITH REGARD TO A PROPOSED UNION OF JORDAN AND IRAQ

Mr. Morrison to Mr. Chapman-Andrews (Beirut)

(No. 551) Foreign Office,
(Telegraphic) 30th July, 1951.
Your telegrams No. 415, No. 422 and No. 423.

Lebanese Christians are no doubt particularly susceptible on the subject of the *status*

quo. As you will have seen from my telegram No. 720 to Bagdad we do in fact agree that a union between Jordan and Iraq in present circumstances would not be desirable. Our policy in this question is, however, as indicated in paragraph 4 (ii) of the

telegram, and we should not be prepared to make a declaration on the lines suggested by the President. We should wish, moreover, to discourage as far as possible any interference on the part of the Lebanon, or any other Arab State in Jordan affairs.

2. Unless you see objection, therefore, you should reply to the Lebanese President on the following lines:—

- (a) We see no reason why the situation in Jordan should not remain stable provided that interference from outside can be reduced to a minimum, and the Jordan Government allowed to settle the affairs of the country without interference.
- (b) While we naturally condemn political assassination and insurrection, and would wish to see calm and discipline maintained throughout the Middle East, we do not consider that any special statement of our views on these points is called for. On the other hand, we think it would be most desirable if the leaders of all

Arab States could make declarations condemning political assassination.

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- (d) We welcome the President's actions reported in paragraph 4 of your telegram under reference and are grateful for his *démarche* in regard to Egypt. We consider that in present circumstances the best action that any Arab statesman can take is to discourage interference by any Arab State in the affairs of any of its neighbours.

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could not stand alone in opposing. With all respect he would urge the agents of His Majesty's Government to be much more active at Paris in trying to persuade, for example, the Iraqi and Jordan representatives (who were known throughout the Arab world to be our friends) to be more definite in opposing Salah el Din's manoeuvres. The Lebanese delegation had instructions, which had just been reaffirmed, to make the most of any rift that might appear, but it was out of the question for the Lebanon to take the lead in causing a rift. His Majesty's Government should also get the United States Government to work upon the Saudi Arabian representative. Despite his Excellency's appeal, King Ibn Saud had not seen fit to separate the problem of Egyptian national aspirations from that of the Middle East defence, but, on the contrary, had taken a very unhelpful line. The Americans, he thought, were the only people who nowadays might be able to influence Ibn Saud in the right direction.

3. I thanked his Excellency for confiding in me, and urged him once more to see to it

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that the Lebanon should not, simultaneously, both sacrifice her vital interests and encourage the Egyptians to go to further extremes thereby rendering a solution of the Anglo-Egyptian dispute, about which he had earlier spoken to me, more difficult and

more remote. He replied we could, as ever, count on him to do his best, but our other friends must be more active. As I left, the Lebanese Prime Minister entered and we exchanged friendly greetings.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EL 1012/1

No. 8

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE LEBANON

Sir W. Houstoun-Boswall to Mr. Bevin. (Received 22nd January)

(No. 10. Confidential) *Beirut,*
Sir, *16th January, 1951.*

With reference to my Despatch No. 130 of 22nd August, 1947, I have the honour to transmit herewith a revised report on leading personalities in the Lebanon.

I have, &c.

W. E. HOUSTOUN-BOSWALL.

Enclosure in No. 8

Index of Leading Personalities in the Lebanon

1. Ibrahim Abdul Al.
2. Aboud Bey Abdel Rezzak.
3. Mohammed Aboud Abdel Rezzak.
4. Me. Habib Abi Chahla.
5. Khalil Abi Jaudeh.
6. Abdulla Abou-Khater.
7. Me. Joseph Abou-Khater.
8. Me. Roukos Abou-Nader.
9. Ashraf Ahdab.
10. Ibrahim Ahdab.
11. Fouad Ammoun.
12. Hussein Aoueini.
13. Mustafa el Ariss.
14. Emir Majid Arslan.
15. Emir Nuhaad Arslan.
16. Shebli Aryan.
17. Ahmed el Assad.
18. Dr. Raif Bellama.
19. Rashid Beydun.
20. Abdullah Beyhum.
21. Amin Beyhum.
22. Mohammed Ali Beyhum.
23. Omar Beyhum.
24. Salah Beyhum.
25. Me. Jawad Boulos.
26. Me. Philippe Negib Boulos.
27. Emile Bustani.
28. Me. Camille (Nimr) Chamoun.
29. Camille Youssef Chamoun.
30. Joseph Elias Chamoun.
31. Joseph Nimr Chamoun.
32. Yusef Charbel.
33. Emir Farid Chehab.
34. General Fouad Chehab.
35. Emir Jemil Chehab.
36. Emir Khaled Chehab.
37. Michel Chiha.
38. Ahmed Daouk.
39. Mohammed Omar Daouk.
40. Badr Dimishkieh.
41. Nadim Dimishkieh.
42. Me. Raymond Eddé.
43. Mohammed el Fadel.
44. Nassouh Agha el Fadel.
45. Dr. Joseph Fadoul.
46. Dr. Samih Fakhoury.
47. Me. Hamid Frangieh.
48. Moussa de Freige.
49. Pierre Gemayel.
50. Colonel Jean Aziz Ghazi.
51. Nicola Ghosn.
52. Nasri Haddad.
53. Ibrahim Haidar.
54. George Haimari.
55. Sabri Hamadi.
56. Charles Helou.
57. Joseph Hrawi.
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59. Aref Bey Ibrahim.
60. Kamal Jumblat.
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62. Joseph Karam.
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65. Lieut.-Colonel Jamil Khatib.
66. Michel Khattar.
67. Sheikh Kesrouan el Khazen.
68. Sheikh Selim el Khazen.
69. Izzat Khorshid.
70. Sheikh Béchara el Khoury.
71. Dr. Elias Khoury.
72. Emile Khoury.
73. Kabalan Issa Khoury.
74. Sheikh Khalil el Khoury.
75. Pierre Khoury.
76. Sami el Khoury.
77. Selim el Khoury.
78. Victor Khoury.
79. Emile Lahoud.
80. Dr. Charles Malik.
81. Badri Meoushi.
82. Jamil Mikkawi.
83. Mukhtar Mokayish.
84. Moussa Moubarek.
85. Michel Moufarrej.
86. Saadi Munla.
87. Duaibis Murr.
88. Gabriel Murr.
89. Alfred Naccache.
90. Adib Nahas.
91. Gibran Nahas.
92. Wadih Naim.
93. Sulaiman Naufal, General.
94. Muhieddin Nsouli.
95. Izzedin Omari.
96. Henri Pharaon.
97. Nasser Raad.
98. Dr. Moustafa Rifai.
99. General Nureddin Rifai.
100. Amin Saad.
101. Abdel Rahman Sahmarani.
102. Ali Salam.
103. Mohammed Salam.
104. Saib Salam.
105. Anis Saleh.
106. Joseph Salem.
107. Colonel Taufik Salem.
108. Joseph Saouda.
109. Ramez Sarkis.

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110. Sami Shoucair.
111. Alfred Skaf.
112. Joseph Skaf.
113. Riad es Solh.
114. Kazem Solh.
115. Sami es Solh.
116. Ibrahim Sursock.
117. Emile Tabet.
118. Georges Tabet.
119. Jacques Tabet.
120. Bahij Takieddin.
121. Khalil Takieddin.
122. Philippe Tacla.
123. Dr. Jamil Talhouk.
124. Salim Tayara.
125. Fozil Trabulsi, Colonel.
126. Gabriel Trad.
127. Gibran Tuéni.
128. Charles Tyan.
129. Me. Adel Usseyran.
130. Me. Abdullah Yafi.
131. Yusuf ez-Zain.

1. Ibrahim Abdul Al

Born 1917 in Beirut of well-known Sunni Moslem family of Egyptian origin. Studied engineering at French School of Engineering in Beirut. Was for two years member of the Hydraulic Department of Ministry of Public Works and appointed Director-General of that Ministry in February 1950. Clever, hard worker and, so far as is known, honest.

2. Aboud Bey Abdel Rezzak

A Sunni Moslem, born 1891. The principal Bey of the Akkar (North Lebanon) and the largest landowner in the Lebanon. A former Deputy Nationalist since 1943; now an opponent of Abdel Hamid Kerami. A sly and crafty individual, whose sole interest is personal gain. Notorious for indulgence in unnatural vices.

3. Mohammed Aboud Abdel Rezzak

Son of No. 2. A Sunni Moslem, born 1914. Elected a Deputy for the second time in 1943 on Abdel Hamid Kerami's list, but has since turned against him. Secondary education and mediocre intelligence; would do anything to become Premier. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947. Minister of Finance, June 1947. Resigned July 1948.

4. Me. Habib Abi Chahla

A Greek Orthodox lawyer of Beirut, born about 1900. Holds the Paris degree of Doctor of Law. Several times a Minister. Was formerly a supporter of Emile Eddé but broke with him after the 1943 election, in which he was successful. Vice-President and Minister of Justice and Education from 1943 to January 1945. Remained staunch to the Government in the crisis of November 1943, and with the Emir Majid Arslan (No. 14) headed a resistance group in the mountains. Enjoys the confidence of President Khoury. Able, energetic and superficially likeable, but untruthful and venal; known as a sincere Nationalist. Since November 1943 he has proved himself consistently helpful to the British authorities. Was elected President of the Chamber in October 1946 for one year. Since his appointment as legal adviser of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company he has been on increasingly good terms with the American Legation. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947. A notorious womaniser, of which he boasts openly, he was awarded the Order of Purity and Chastity by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch.

5. Khalil Abi Jaudeh

A Maronite of Antelias. Born 1901. Bachelor. Member of an influential family. Is a good orator in Arabic but his French is weak. Former newspaper reporter and treasurer of Municipality of Antelias until 1932, when he embezzled the cash and disappeared. Was sentenced to a term of imprisonment but did not serve owing to an amnesty. Twice a Deputy under the mandatory régime. Early in 1940 joined the French army as a private and broadcast a speech urging the youth of the Lebanon to fight on the side of the democracies. Was demobilised only after great difficulties following collapse of France. Appointed Minister of Information and Posts and Telegraphs in February 1950. Friendly to this legation.

6. Abdulla Abou-Khater

Greek Catholic from Zahlé. Born 1888. Was twice a Deputy under the Mandate and remains a person of importance in Zahlé. Untruthful and unreliable. At present active in opposition.

7. Me. Joseph Abou-Khater

A Greek Catholic lawyer of Zahlé, born about 1905; nephew of No. 6. Studied law in France. A leader of the anti-Skaf faction in Zahlé. Is extremely intelligent and ambitious and may have a political future if he becomes less mean and more accessible. Now Lebanese Minister in Mexico.

8. Me. Roukos Abou-Nader

A Maronite lawyer of Beskinta, born 1883. Several times a Deputy and twice a Minister; formerly a supporter of the late Emile Eddé, but has since come out strongly in favour of Sheikh Béchara el Khoury, from whom he receives an allowance. Outwardly friendly to us. Influential in the Metn district, but somewhat discredited on account of his low morality. Unsuccessful in 1947 elections.

9. Ashraf Ahdab

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut. Born 1894. Was for some time an official of the Lebanese Administration of the Finance Department. In November 1943 was made Director in succession to Nasri Haddad; Director-General in 1944. Director-General of Public Works, 1948-49. March 1950 appointed member of Lebanese Board of Customs. Honest and quiet, not particularly intelligent, does not mix in politics.

10. Ibrahim Ahdab

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born in 1902. Was a contractor and engineer until appointed in February 1944 as Lebanese representative of the Council of the *Intérêts Communs*; failed in the elections of 1943. October 1947 appointed Minister in Ankara. Honest and intelligent but indecisive.

11. Fouad Ammoun

Maronite from Deir-el-Kamar. Born 1899. A magistrate until 1945, when he was appointed by Henri Pharaon, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, to a post in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Later became Director-General.

Well-educated with a broad mind, but does not appear to have any capacity for leadership. Rather an opportunist. Co-operates well with His Majesty's Legation.

12. Hussein Aouei

Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1902; belongs to a modest family. At an early age engaged in commerce in Saudi Arabia, where he amassed a considerable fortune and in 1945 was appointed Saudi Arabian Commercial Representative. He is connected with the Compagnie Générale de Transports, a subsidiary of Air France. A great friend of Riad

Solh, whom he supported financially during difficult times. Amongst his close friends is now critical of Riad es Solh, whose successor he has ambitions of being. Clever, but little educated. Pro-German during early stages of the war. Elected Deputy for Beirut in 1947 elections and appointed Minister of Finance in July 1948.

13. Mustafa el Ariss

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut. Born 1912. Secretary and leader of the pro-Communist "Union of Labour Syndicates." Near East delegate to World Federation of Trades Unions. Began life as apprentice printer and now Chairman of Printers' Trade Union. Spent from 1932 to 1935 in Russia, which he revisited just before 1939 war. On his return he went into hiding in Palestine, whence he was expelled to Lebanon. Sentenced in 1939 to five years' imprisonment for Communist activities but released in 1941 on arrival of British troops. Was arrested in January 1950 for staging a demonstration and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Disappeared "underground" on release in December 1950. Self-educated, able and energetic.

14. Emir Majid Arslan

An influential Druze from Shwaifat, born about 1908. A member of Constitutional Party. Unlike most Arslans, has never been pro-Axis. Minister of Health, National Defence and Agriculture, September 1943-January 1945. During the crisis of November 1943 headed a resistance group in the mountains. Minister of National Defence and of Health May 1946. December 1946 Minister of National Defence and Post and Telegraphs, and having been successful in elections of May 1947 retained portfolios when Government reshuffled in following June. A cheerful, uneducated and highly venal feudal chieftain.

15. Emir Nuhad Arslan

A Druze of Shwaifat. Born 1915; brother of Emir Majid Arslan. Was interned in 1942 for pro-German activities. Unsuccessful in 1947 elections. Attempted an abortive *Putsch* in March 1948 and was imprisoned for a few months.

Has little education, but is eloquent and cunning. His relations with his brother fluctuate from friendship to violent criticism.

16. Shebli Aryan

A Druze of Rachaya; born 1912; nephew of ex-Deputy Nassib Daoud, with whom he is on bad terms. Uneducated, but, unlike his uncle, popular with both Druzes and Christians of Rachaya. Not wealthy but has an armed following. A supporter of the Skaf family of Zahlé. Elected Deputy in May 1947.

17. Ahmed el Assad

A Shia Moslem from Taibé (South Lebanon), born 1905. A feudal chieftain whose influence is paramount in the Jebel Amil. Was a Minister in the first "independent" Lebanese Government in 1941-42, but was displaced when it fell in July 1942. Re-elected a Deputy in 1943. Minister of Public Works and Minister of Health and Public Assistance January to August 1945. Minister of Defence and of Agriculture August 1945 to May 1946. Re-elected Deputy in 1947. Minister of Public Works July 1948. He is the father-in-law of Sabri Hamadi and collaborates closely with President Khoury. His chief Shia rival in South Lebanon, Adel Usseyran, is supported by Riad Solh. Dishonest, unreliable and quite unprincipled; suspected of promoting smuggling over the Palestine frontier. Desires good relations with the British authorities.

18. Dr. Raif Bellama

A Maronite bacteriologist of Beirut, born 1897. Is a professor at the American University of Beirut. Until recently has taken no part in political life. Has strong pan-Arab leanings. Honest, intelligent, and a good orator, but not an outstanding personality; on good terms with the President. Stood for Beirut in 1947 elections and was successful. Appointed Minister of Education October 1949.

19. Rashid Beydun

A Shia of Beirut; born about 1897; uneducated. Elected a Deputy in 1943 on list of Riad Solh. In year 1937 visited Africa, where he collected a large sum of money from Shia emigrants for the education of his co-religionists in the Lebanon. Founded the "Al-Ameliyah School" in Beirut. Popular, and his work is appreciated. Successful in 1947 elections when he stood for Beirut.

20. Abdullah Beyhum

A Sunni Moslem from Beirut, born about 1873. Was Secretary of State in 1934, in 1939-41, and in the interim Lebanese Government appointed in July 1943. Past his prime; maintains close relations with the French Legation.

21. Amin Beyhum

A Sunni Moslem landowner of Beirut, born 1907. Has not so far held office, but is considered one of the most prominent younger Moslems, and is likely to emerge as a political figure. He is a Nationalist, but is critical of the President and the Solh family. On good terms with Henri Pharaon and Abdel Hamid Kerami. Unsuccessful in 1947 elections.

22. Mohammed Ali Beyhum

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1889. Brother of No. 23. Prominent in Moslem political circles, but has never been a Deputy. Well-meaning and pleasant but ineffective.

23. Omar Beyhum

A Sunni Moslem proprietor of Beirut, born 1881. A former Deputy. Has some influence in Beirut Moslem circles. Brusque and uneducated, but honest and consistent in his Nationalist views. Critical of the President. Is a close friend of Henri Pharaon; a long-standing opponent of Riad Solh.

Since the failure of his nephew Amin Beyhum in the 1947 elections, has played a prominent part in Opposition activities.

24. Salah Beyhum

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1895. Brother of Abdullah Beyhum. Has so far held no office, but has some influence in Moslem circles. A Nationalist, holds pan-Arab ideas. Like all the Beyhums is anti-Riad Solh.

25. Me. Jawad Boulos

A Maronite solicitor of Tripoli and amateur historian, born 1900. Ex-Deputy; was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the provisional Lebanese Government of March 1943, but was eliminated with it in July. In the past a servile tool of the French, to whose support he owes his position in the Kadisha Electric Company in Tripoli. Unsuccessfully contested the 1943 elections. Although an active member of the Opposition is on good personal terms with the President. In 1948 he visited the United Kingdom, United States and Mexico on a lecture tour. Intelligent and well-educated, but rather a bore.

26. Me. Philippe Negib Boulos

A Greek Orthodox lawyer from Koura (North Lebanon), born 1902. Has held various magisterial

offices. In 1941 was appointed by the Vichy authorities a member of President Naccache's Administration, and held office in the first two "independent" Lebanese Governments, in the second of which he was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Failed in the 1943 elections, and resumed his post of judge of the Court of Appeal. Resigned judgeship in January 1947 to re-enter politics, but was unsuccessful in the May elections. A supporter of Abdel Hamid Kerami. Weak and ineffective, but honest and likeable.

27. Emile Bustani

A Maronite. Born in Sidon in 1907. Educated at American University of Beirut, where he took engineering degree in 1929. In 1933 began working for Iraq Petroleum Company, Haifa, and was later municipal engineer at Acre and Nazareth. In 1938 he set up the Contracting and Trading Company, Haifa, and developed branches throughout most of the Middle East. Self-made. Now has considerable business interests. Ardent pan-Arabist and generally pro-British. Occasionally irresponsible in his utterances. Intends to seek election for Shouf district of Mount Lebanon in 1951.

28. Me. Camille (Nimr) Chamoun

A Maronite lawyer from Deir-el-Kamar, born 1901. Once a Minister; a prominent member of the Constitutional Party. Strongly pro-British and for this reason was viewed with suspicion by the French. Very influential in the Chouf district. Appointed Minister of the Interior and Posts and Telegraphs in September 1943; one of the Ministers arrested by the French in November 1943. In July 1944 appointed first Lebanese Minister in London, where he represented his country with distinction. Appointed Minister of Finance in December 1946 and returned to take up appointment in March 1947 with enhanced prestige. Embarked on a campaign to "clean up" the Government and co-operated with elements outside the Constitutional Party, e.g., Kamal Jumblat. Successful in the elections of May 1947. Appointed Minister of the Interior in June 1947; resigned May 1948. Is now the official leader of the Opposition. His popularity with the general public has been steadily in decline and he has allowed the President to outmanoeuvre him.

Honest, able and extremely likeable, but probably somewhat spoilt by his success in London. Inclined to take his responsibilities too lightly; much given to female society. Sincerely pro-British and a friend of the Hashemites.

29. Camille Youssef Chamoun

A Maronite from Deir-el-Kamar. Born 1903. Now owner of *Saout-el-Ahrar*, which he formerly edited. A strong critic of the régime, but since his election as President of the Journalists' Association has been scrupulous in taking a non-party line in public. Is intelligent and, as journalists go, can be labelled as "honest."

30. Joseph Elias Chamoun

A Maronite banker of Zahlé; born about 1882. Settled in Brazil, where he amassed a considerable fortune. Director of the Electric Company of Zahlé and owns most of its shares. Comes from a pro-French family, but has himself been little interested in politics. Elected Deputy in May 1947. Uneducated, honest.

31. Joseph Nimr Chamoun

A Maronite from Deir-el-Kamar, born 1896. Brother of Camille Chamoun, a civil servant of long experience. In November 1943 he was appointed Director of Public Works; became Director-General in 1944. Resigned June 1948. Honest and hard-working; does not mix in politics.

32. Yusef Charbel

A Maronite of Hosh-el-Newar of the Bekka. Born 1896. Made his career as a magistrate specialising in the examining branch; Attorney-General in 1943. Attorney-General to newly reconstituted Supreme Court of Appeal May 1950. On friendly terms with British Legation. Honest and well educated, but brusque and is known to be an opportunist. Often consulted by President Khoury and by Ministers on political matters.

33. Emir Farid Chehab

A Maronite, born February 1909. Studied at home and for a short period at the French "Mission Laïque." Entered Posts and Telegraphs Administration 1926 and joined police in 1930. In September 1939 joined the French Sûreté, where he reached the rank of Head of Counter-Espionage Department. In February 1942 imprisoned by Free French, released October 1943. In December 1943 re-entered Police Department under independent Lebanese Administration and appointed Head of Criminal Investigation Department 1945. In 1947 he followed a course at New Scotland Yard, and on his return was appointed Administrator of the Bekaa. On 1st August, 1948, appointed Director of Lebanese Sûreté. Speaks several languages; pro-British but does not lack sense of opportunism. Inclined to burn the candle at both ends. Honest and a good police officer.

34. General Fouad Chehab

A Maronite from Beirut. Born 1901. Served in the French Army and was made Officer Commanding Lebanese troops when the Troupes Spéciales were handed over to the Lebanese Government in 1945.

Is married to a French wife and is devoted to Sheikh Béchara el Khoury. Honest but not very intelligent.

35. Emir Jemil Chehab

A Maronite from Beirut, born 1898. Belongs to the Christian branch of a leading Lebanese family. Director of Finance from 1921-42, and from September 1943 senior Lebanese member on the Conseil Supérieur des Intérêts Communs. Was delegated by Riad Solh in 1944 to run the Ministry of Supply, but resigned at the end of the year and was subsequently appointed Director-General of Customs. Transferred from Customs and appointed Chief Controller of Concessionary Companies in the Lebanon. A hardworking and conscientious and exceedingly obstinate and narrow-minded official, who periodically quarrels with his superiors.

36. Emir Khaled Chehab

A Sunni Moslem from Hasbaya, born 1891. Father-in-law of Emir Majid Arslan (No. 14). Belongs to the Moslem branch of the Chehab family and is prominent in South Lebanon. Has been Prime Minister and President of the Chamber; was a member of Dr. Ayoub Tabet's interim Government appointed in March 1943. After a period of retirement is now taking an interest in politics. Collaborates with Ahmed el Assad. Stood down in favour of Riad Solh during elections of May 1947. Appointed Mohafez, North Lebanon, in August 1947. Lebanese Minister in Amman July 1948. Honest and respected, but weak and easily led.

37. Michel Chiha

A Roman Catholic banker of Beirut, born 1893. A member of the Board of Administration of the Banque de Syrie. Was Deputy in 1926, at which time he assisted in the drafting of the Lebanese Constitution. A brother-in-law of the President and relative of Henri Pharaon, has long been power behind the Constitutional Party. Virtually directs

the policy of Henri Pharaon and in major issues is always consulted by the President, of whom, however, he has of late become critical. The local *Eminence Grise*. Formerly an advocate of a Christian Lebanon protected against Moslem domination, is now in favour of the maintenance of the Lebanon as at present constituted, as favouring the continued influence of his family and the exclusion of their rival Emile Eddé. He is owner of *Le Jour* (to which he contributes a signed article daily) and, until it ceased publication, of the *Eastern Times*. A man of wide culture (chiefly Latin), retiring and studious by nature and deeply religious, he is politically far-seeing though somewhat handicapped by his aloofness. A Jesuit in outlook. Though imbued with French culture and in favour of close relations (particularly economic) with France on the basis of independence, he is pro-British and has at intervals written statesmanlike articles in his newspaper (e.g., in connexion with Anglo-Egyptian dispute). Anti-Zionist and anti-Communist. While disposed to co-operate with neighbouring Arab States on the basis of the Arab League, he is fundamentally suspicious of Moslem influence—a sentiment which colours his whole political philosophy—and his pro-British sympathies are tempered by some distrust of British pro-Moslem policy.

A shrewd and cautious financier; respected but not popular.

38. Ahmed Daouk

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1889. After many years in the Beirut Municipality was appointed Secretary of State in the Administration appointed by the Vichy authorities in 1941. Became Prime Minister of the first "independent" Lebanese Government in December 1941, but resigned in July 1942. While in office proved himself incompetent and servile and has lost much of his influence in Moslem circles. In July 1944 was appointed first Lebanese Minister to France.

39. Mohammed Omar Daouk

A Sunni Moslem from Beirut, born 1915. The son of the late Omar Daouk. Passed completely unnoticed until death of his father in 1949. Does not indulge in politics.

40. Badr Dimishkieh

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1878. Has been president of Beirut municipality. Has relations with Palestine Jews through his son-in-law, who is a merchant of Jaffa. Venal and a hypocrite. Father of Nadim Dimishkieh.

41. Nadim Dimishkieh

A Sunni Moslem from Beirut, son of Badr Dimishkieh. Born 1915. Well educated. Worked in the Ministry of Supplies until 1945, when he was appointed commercial attaché to the Lebanese Legation in London. Transferred to Ottawa as Consul-General 1949 and to Ministry of Foreign Affairs December 1950. Intelligent. Married to an English wife.

42. Me. Raymond Eddé

A Maronite lawyer of Beirut, born 1918. Son of the late Me. Emile Eddé on whose death in 1949 he was elected Head of the National Bloc. Although on close terms with the French, he has always shown signs of wishing to be friendly with the British. Has not yet held office or been a Deputy; considered by everyone to be a decent and reasonable person.

43. Mohammed el Fadel

Born 1912; landowner from Nabatieh. Minister from July 1944 to January 1945, with portfolios of Commerce and Industry, and Posts and Telegraphs.

Received a primary education only. Has little character and is thought to be completely under the influence of Ahmed el Assad. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947.

44. Nassouh Agha el Fadel

A Sunni Moslem, born 1883. A landowner of the Danieh district (North Lebanon), where his influence is predominant. A former Deputy. Failed in the 1943 elections when he was a candidate on the anti-Nationalist list. Elected Deputy in May 1947; a prominent figure in the Opposition.

45. Dr. Joseph Fadoul

A Maronite of Tripoli, born about 1910. French education. Uncle of Madame Khalil el Khoury and as a result of this relationship elected Deputy in 1947, but has no followers or popularity in Tripoli. On bad terms with the Frangieh family of Zghorta.

46. Dr. Samih Fakhoury

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born 1881. Ex-Deputy. Inconsistent in his political allegiances. A relative of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, who stayed with him on his flight from Palestine; no longer of any importance.

47. Me. Hamid Frangieh

A Maronite lawyer from Zghorta, born 1905. Was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the first "independent" Lebanese Government of 1941-42 and had previously held ministerial posts. Re-elected Deputy in September 1943. Minister of Finance July 1944 to January 1945. Minister for Foreign Affairs and Education August 1945 to May 1946. His attempts to promote Lebanese independence and his close collaboration with the British rendered him for a time *persona non grata* to the French. His relations with the French have much improved, particularly since his visit to Paris in the spring of 1946 when he negotiated the evacuation agreement, and he has recently been appointed legal adviser to the French-controlled company Seriac. Made Commander of the Legion of Honour 1950. The outstanding Christian politician in North Lebanon; Successful in elections of May 1947, and in June appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and Education. Resigned October 1949.

Formerly a close supporter of Riad Solh and in general agreement with the President. Since his resignation has on several occasions attacked the Government with vehemence, but has refrained from joining the Opposition. Intelligent, honest, able and has the courage of his convictions, though not always sound in judgment; well qualified to become a political force in the future. Rather conceited. Pro-British on the whole, but is an advocate of non-discrimination and neutrality.

48. Moussa de Freige

A Roman Catholic of Beirut; born 1910. Nephew of Madame Béchara el Khoury and related to Henri Pharaon, whose lead he follows. Unpopular particularly among Moslems. Failed in 1943 elections, but was successful in May 1947. Wealthy (prominent race-horse owner).

49. Pierre Gemayel

A Maronite from Bikfaya, born about 1909. Leader of the "Union Libanaise," an orthodox political party replacing the para-military Phalanges dissolved in July 1949 in accordance with a Government decree prohibiting organisations of this nature. Although subject to Jesuit influence, he wholeheartedly supported the Government during the crisis of November 1943, and is now playing an increasingly important rôle in Lebanese politics. On good terms with Henri Pharaon. Affects extreme

Lebanese Nationalist and pro-Christian views. A loud advocate for reform and honest administration. A hot-headed and rather unbalanced demagogue.

50. Colonel Jean Aziz Ghazi

A Maronite of Beirut, born in 1900. Educated in Egypt and at a military college in France. Joined the French Army of the Levant 1922 and is now, by order of seniority, second to General Chehab. Visited the United Kingdom in 1950 on a mission for the Lebanese Army. Speaks some English, pleasant personality but somewhat under a cloud at present.

51. Nicola Ghosn

A Greek Orthodox landowner of Kosba, North Lebanon, born in 1882. Has been a Deputy three times. Until 1943 was a follower of Emil Eddé and considered wholly under French influence, but rallied to Abdel Hamid Kerami for the 1943 elections. Uneducated and speaks no foreign language. Deputy Prime Minister in Kerami Cabinet January to August 1945, holding portfolios of Commerce and Industry and Posts and Telegraphs. Elected Vice-President of Chamber of Deputies October 1945. Lost his seat in 1947 elections. His honesty is questionable and he has little influence even in his district.

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A Roman Catholic of Beirut, born 1896. Served for many years in the Finance Department of the French High Commission. In 1941 was appointed Director of Finance; became Director of Supply. Honest and capable, but was wholly under French influence. Is now Director of the National Lottery Department in the Ministry of Finance.

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A Shia Moslem from Labwé (Bekaa), born 1888. Several times Minister; his last such post, in 1937, terminated owing to his alleged connexion with a hashish racket. A leading member of one of the two principal Shia families of the Bekaa. Re-elected a Deputy in September 1943 and again in May 1947. Shrewd, but shifty and dishonest. Critical of present régime to a point of favouring the Greater Syria project but utterly lacks the courage of his convictions.

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A Maronite from Beirut, born 1898. Was Chief of the President's Secretariat from 1920 to 1943 and served successive masters faithfully. Inclined to favour Emil Eddé. Appointed Director of Education when Sheikh Béchara el Khoury became President in September 1943, but returned as Chief of President's Secretariat in the summer of 1945, which post he still retains. Pro-British and most co-operative. Made O.B.E. in 1947. Appointed Chairman of the Palestine Refugees Commission of the Lebanese Government in May 1948. Also Acting Director-General of the Interior from July 1948 to February 1950, when he lost this post following re-shuffle of senior members of the Civil Service. Is now, possibly temporarily, somewhat under a cloud.

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A Shia Moslem proprietor of Hermel (Bekaa), born about 1903. Is one of the leaders of the most prominent Bekaa family. Son-in-law of Ahmed el Assad. Was elected Deputy at an early age and was a Minister in 1938. Has little education and is wholly unprincipled, but has always been pandered to on account of his nuisance value in the remote North Bekaa region. Elected Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies in October 1943, and re-elected to the same

office in October 1944 and October 1945, but defeated by Habib Abi Chahla in October 1946. Appointed Minister for the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister in December 1946. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947 and elected Speaker again in the following June. Re-elected annually since then to the same office. Runs a large hashish racket about which he makes no secret.

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A Maronite lawyer of Beirut, born October 1912. Educated at the Jesuit University of Beirut and later at the Jesuit "Ecole de Droit." Participated in creation of Phalanges. Co-proprietor with Michel Chiha of French language newspaper *Le Jour* of which he was chief editor until his appointment as Lebanese Minister to the Holy See in February 1947. Personal friend of the President and his family and supporter of Constitutional Party. Follower of Michel Chiha, who imposed him on Cabinet as Minister of Justice and Information in October 1949. Resigned December 1949. Well educated and a loyal Lebanese, but an opportunist.

57. Joseph Hrawi

Maronite, born in Zahlé in 1893. Agriculturalist. Entered political life on the occasion of the 1943 elections when he appeared on the list of Henri Pharaon. Until his appointment in May 1946 as Minister of Agriculture and Posts and Telegraphs, his activities had been more or less confined to acting as courier between his electors and the various Government departments. Uneducated; curries favour with the Communists. Dropped by Henri Pharaon in 1947 elections.

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A Shia Moslem from Akoura (Bekaa), born 1888. Has several times been Minister, but has usually resigned on personal grounds after a short time in office. Re-elected Deputy in September 1943 as Shia Deputy for Mount Lebanon. Minister of Justice May-December 1946. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947. Minister of Justice June 1947-July 1948. An honest, old-school official, influential in Shia circles and generally respected, but uneducated and muddle-headed.

59. Aref Bey Ibrahim

A Moslem Circassian from Smyrna, born 1887. Was in the Turkish police at the end of 1914-18 war. Appointed Head of Judicial Police in Beirut on first Allied occupation; was dismissed in 1932 and spent one and a half years in prison under accusation of bribery; acquitted when tried. Chief of Police 1943 to 1945, when he was attached to the Ministry of the Interior as adviser on police matters. Appointed in June 1946 as liaison officer with Palestine C.I.D. Retired early in 1947. A clever police officer, comparatively honest and fairly loyal.

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Born 1914. Belongs to one of the two leading Druze families of Mount Lebanon. Elected Deputy in 1943 on the list of Emil Eddé. Is opposed to President Khoury and the Constitutionalists who favour the Druze family of Arslan. During 1946 became associated politically with Henri Pharaon and his prestige increased accordingly. Minister of National Economy and Agriculture in December 1946 to June 1947. His efforts to reduce prices and his outspoken denunciation of political and administrative corruption won him considerable popular support. Collaborated with Camille Chamoun in 1947 elections—was successful. Has now founded the Progressive Socialist Party, the symbol of which is the crossed

axe and pencil. He advocates the distribution of land, the abolition of the feudal system, but declares his opposition to communism. His opposition to the Government has recently become more aggressive, particularly since the execution of Antoun Sa'adeh with whose ideas he sympathised. Is continually involved in brushes with Riad Solh in the Chamber, emboldened by the knowledge that he has a large armed following amongst the Druzes, who look upon him, ironically enough, as their feudal leader. Formerly under the influence of his mother, Sitt azira Jumblat, but since his marriage to May Arslan has developed from a hard-working and shy youth into an eccentric. A yogi.

1. Sitt Nazira Jumblat

Born at Mukhtara 1890 and married her cousin Fouad Jumblat in 1909. Following her husband's death in 1929 she assumed political leadership of the family. A formidable personality who during the mandatory period was pro-French, but is now anxious to revive her family's traditional friendship with the British.

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A Maronite of Zghorta (North Lebanon), born 1899, a rather weak character who is overshadowed by Iamid Frangieh and Jawad Boulos, both of the same district. Entered the Chamber on a by-election in April 1944 with French support. An associate of Abdel Hamid Kerami, was eventually taken on Hamid Frangieh's list in the 1947 elections and was successful.

3. Rifaat Kazaoun

A Sunni Moslem of Qabb Elias (Bekaa), born about 1908. Elected a Deputy in September 1943. Caught by British military authorities transporting legal arms in October 1945; nevertheless was shortly afterwards elected Secretary to the Chamber of Deputies. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947. Ambitious, fanatical and venal.

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A Maronite. Born in Beirut in 1900. Prominent businessman and President of the Merchants' Association. Taciturn, a straightforward type of person.

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A Greek Catholic manufacturer from Deir-el-Zamar, born 1889. President of the Silk-Growers' and Industrialists' Associations. Has held no office but has much political sense, which causes him often to be consulted by Ministers in office. Strongly pro-British and has co-operated well with us but has commercial connexions with the French. Very likeable, with an unusually strong and independent character. Is now an invalid.

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Khoury's firm of lawyers for the last fifteen years. Elected Deputy in 1948 in the place of the late Farid el Khazen. He and his wife are on intimate terms with the President. Unpopular with the rest of his family. Venal and unscrupulous.

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He is a shrewd politician but is not a strong character. Though he arouses little enthusiasm with the public at large, he has contrived to collect all the reins of power into his own hands and is certainly the strongest single influence in the political field. In spite of his faults, is the most powerful factor of stability in the Lebanon.

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Maronite, born about 1887. Journalist. Was for some years Foreign Correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper *El Ahram* and for a number of Swiss newspapers, during the course of which he acquired a bad reputation. Appointed Lebanese Minister to Rome October 1948. Intelligent but not very trustworthy.

Lebanese Nationalist and pro-Christian views. A loud advocate for reform and honest administration. A hot-headed and rather unbalanced demagogue.

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A Maronite of Wadi-Shahrour, Mount Lebanon. Born in 1898. Minister of Health and Education December 1946-June 1947, when he authorised the formation of the Franco-Lebanese Medical Association. Graduate of the French University of Beirut. Director of the French hospital, Sacré-Cœur, and the Bahannes Sanatorium. Friend and blind supporter of President Khoury. A prominent supporter of the Constitutional Party since 1932; he entered active politics in December 1946 when, though not a Deputy, joined the Riad Solh Cabinet. Successful in elections of May 1947. Minister of Health since July 1948. Honest and well-meaning.

72. Emil Khoury

Maronite, born about 1887. Journalist. Was for some years Foreign Correspondent of the Egyptian newspaper *El Ahram* and for a number of Swiss newspapers, during the course of which he acquired a bad reputation. Appointed Lebanese Minister to Rome October 1948. Intelligent but not very trustworthy.

73. Kabalan Issa Khoury

A Maronite proprietor of Ainata (Bekaa), born 1915. Is a relative of the Maronite Patriarch, whose influence he uses freely. Resides in Beirut. Used to grow much hashish on his properties. An active and ambitious young man, but wholly unprincipled. An inveterate smuggler.

74. Sheikh Khalil el Khoury

Maronite, born 1923, elder son of the President. Succeeded his father as a lawyer. Married a rich and charming heiress (Miss Jacqueline Arida). Exploits his privileged position to the maximum. Reputed smuggler.

75. Pierre Khoury

Maronite from Beirut, born 1915. A cousin of Sheikh Béchara el Khoury, whose private secretary he was from 1946-49. Appointed Honorary Consul-General for Monaco 1950. Effeminate.

76. Sami el Khoury

A Maronite from Beirut, born 1895. Brother of President Khoury. Chief Clerk in the Lebanese Directorate of Justice until 1926, when he was appointed Director of Justice; in 1937 appointed by Emile Eddé as President of the "Conseil d'État"; became Director-General of Foreign Affairs in 1944; appointed Minister to Cairo 1945. Honest and disciplined but of medium intelligence.

77. Selim el Khoury

A Maronite of Rashmaya, born 1896. Brother of President Khoury and known as the "Sultan of Furnesh-Shubak" (a suburb of Beirut where he lives). Gained very considerable influence by his activity behind the scenes and consequently unpopular except with those who were benefited by his intervention. Openly attacked by Camille Chamoun. He insisted on standing for elections in May 1947 (apparently against the wishes of the President, who wished to avoid a split in the Constitutional Party) and was successful but resigned a year later. During the summer months of 1950 was in open conflict with Riad es Solh, the Prime Minister, whom he tried unsuccessfully to unseat. Cunning and stubborn. The *Eminence Grise* of the Lebanon.

78. Victor Khoury

A Maronite from Hadeth, born 1903. Practised as a lawyer until 1944, when he was appointed as counsellor to the Lebanese Legation in London. Appointed Lebanese Minister in London in 1947 in succession to Camille Chamoun.

79. Emile Lahoud

A Maronite from Baabdat (Mount Lebanon), born 1897. Lawyer. Member of Constitutional Party. Elected Deputy in 1943. Minister of Finance August 1945-December 1946. Also Minister of Interior April to May 1945.

Highly intelligent but lazy. A good orator. Compromised his reputation while in office, when it is believed he succeeded in lining his pocket and was, owing to the insistence of Camille Chamoun, rejected from the Constitutional Party list in the 1947 elections. Stood as candidate on the unofficial Constitutional list of Sheikh Selim Khoury, but was unsuccessful. Returned to the Chamber in a by-election September 1948.

80. Dr. Charles Malik

A Greek Orthodox from North Lebanon, born 1906. Appointed first Lebanese Minister to Washington in March 1945. Also Lebanese Representative at the United Nations, where he has attracted some attention by his anti-Communist speeches. A

graduate of the American University in Beirut and Doctor in Philosophy, Harvard University. From 1942 to 1945 was Professor of Philosophy and Science at the American University in Beirut.

Before his appointment as Minister took no part in politics, his interests being wholly academic.

81. Badri Meoushi

A Maronite from Bkassin. Born in 1902. Educated at the Jesuit University. Appointed Magistrate in 1925 and rose gradually until he was appointed Chief Justice in May 1950. A distant relation of the President. Honest, only moderately clever; but since his appointment as Chief Justice has shown a commendably independent spirit.

82. Jamil Mikkawi

A Sunni Moslem lawyer of Beirut, born 1911. Was leader of the Najjadé Party, in which capacity he had a certain nuisance value, until July 1943, when his failure to conform to the attitude of the Moslem leaders on the electoral issue lost him most of his popularity and the majority of the party seceded to a rival leader. A pretentious young coxcomb, who is not unintelligent but lacks stability, though he has recently shown signs of growing in stature. Married to a Frenchwoman. Appointed counsellor to the Lebanese Legation in London in July 1944. Appointed chargé d'affaires in Switzerland in February 1946 and Minister there November 1946.

83. Mukhtar Mokayish

A Sunni Moslem from Beirut, born 1901 of a well-known family. Practised as a lawyer until 1942, when he was interned for his pro-German activities. Appointed as counsellor to the Lebanese Legation in Washington in 1945; went to Ankara in March 1946 as Lebanese Chargé d'Affaires but was recalled to Beirut and nominally appointed counsellor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; is in fact on permanent leave. A fanatical Moslem, extremely intelligent with a good education.

84. Moussa Moubarek

A Maronite of Antura, born 1903. Member of the staff of the French Delegate to the Lebanon from 1923-41, during which time he played an important part in Franco-Lebanese politics as principal French go-between. Director of Public Instruction 1941; became "chef de Cabinet" to President Khoury in 1943. In spite of his close associations with the French, his attitude during the November 1943 crisis was correct and he is now a "good Lebanese." Appointed Lebanese President of the *Intérêts Communs* in 1944 and President of the Council of Customs in March 1950 following the abrogation of the Customs Union. Clever and intelligent. A personal friend of the President. Co-operates well with British officials but continues to have pro-French leanings.

85. Michel Moufarrej

Greek Orthodox of Bishmizzin, Kura, North Lebanon; born 1893. Moderately educated. A capable business man (he has considerable trade connexions with British firms and has amassed a considerable fortune). Entered political life in the elections of May 1947, when having bought his rivals off at considerable expense he was taken on as a candidate on the list of Hamid Frangieh and was successful. Staunchly pro-British. Speaks English well.

86. Saadi Munla

Sunni Moslem from Tripoli, born 1895. Belongs to a prominent Tripoli family. Owns considerable real estate and also a soap factory. Studied in Istanbul. Was elected Deputy in 1943 on Abdel Hamid Kerami's list. Minister of Justice and

National Economy in the Kerami and Sami Solh Cabinets. Prime Minister in 1946 in the absence of a stronger candidate. Did not contest the 1947 elections. Moderately well-educated, honest, but not over intelligent. Rather colourless.

87. Duaibis Murr

A Greek Orthodox of Mount Lebanon but established in Beirut since 1910. Born 1887. Graduate of the American University of Beirut. Lawyer. Practised in Palestine from 1921-1941 where he made a substantial sum as broker between Barclay's Bank and the Jewish Agency. Only intermittently active in politics, but wholeheartedly critical of present régime. He is *The Times* correspondent in Beirut. Pro-French. A disappointed man that more notice is not taken of him.

88. Gabriel Murr

A Greek Orthodox Deputy for Mount Lebanon; born 1895. Originally of Btgrin and now of Beirut. Lived in the United States for ten years and served during the first world war in United States army. Returned to Lebanon in 1922 and started a cinema business which is still flourishing. Entered political life for the first time in September 1943, when he was elected Deputy for Mount Lebanon on Emil Eddé's list. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Public Works in Sami Solh Government August 1945 to May 1946. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Public Works in Saadi Munla Government May 1946. Retained portfolio of Public Works when Riad Solh Government formed in December 1946 (having been successful in the elections) June 1947. On good terms with United States Legation; patriotic, not very intelligent, honest and well-meaning.

89. Alfred Naccache

A Maronite of Beirut, born 1889. An unsuccessful lawyer, who has held magisterial posts since 1925 and was President of the Court of Appeal. Was unexpectedly nominated head of the Lebanese Administration by the Vichy authorities in 1941, having held no previous administrative post. Continued in office after the Allied occupation and was nominated President of the Republic by General Catroux in November 1941. Much under Jesuit influence, and widely unpopular. Very honest, but impulsive, volatile, and incapable. Accepted dismissal by General Catroux in March 1943. Elected a Deputy in September 1943, and has since been active member of the small pro-French opposition group. Unsuccessful in elections of May 1947.

90. Adib Nahas

A Greek Orthodox of Tripoli, born 1903. Comes of a leading Christian family in North Lebanon. A senior Government official who has filled many posts, including that of Director of the Interior in 1940; Mohafez of South Lebanon during the 1941 campaign and rendered great assistance to the British; reappointed Director of the Interior in November 1943, and later promoted to Director-General. Appointed Minister to the Argentine in June 1948. Probably the best of the Lebanese civil servants, honest, intelligent and capable. Pro-British and never fails to co-operate with British officials. Made O.B.E. in 1947.

91. Gibran Nahas

A Greek Orthodox of Tripoli, born 1891. Was formerly Mohafez of North Lebanon and is a prominent figure in that district. Deputy. Appointed Minister of Justice and Deputy Prime Minister September 1949. In October, on his appointment as Minister of Commerce and Industry, he handed over portfolio of Justice to Charles Helou,

but took it back on latter's resignation in December 1949. Under French influence in the past; of mediocre intelligence.

92. Wadih Naim

A Maronite lawyer of Chiah near Beirut, born 1886. A former leader of the Beirut Bar, took no part in politics before the 1943 elections in which he became a Deputy for Mount Lebanon on the Constitutional list. Minister of Interior and of Education January to August 1945, and headed Lebanese delegation to San Francisco in April 1945. Re-elected Deputy in 1947. Bears a good reputation, but is considered of mediocre intelligence.

93. Sulaiman Naufal, General

A Greek Catholic of Merjayun, born 1900. Spent two years at the French École de Guerre, was an officer in the Chasseurs Libanais until 1941, when he became head of the Lebanese gendarmerie. During the Lebanese crisis of November 1943, worked with the French and was consequently removed from his post, but soon re-established himself and was appointed Director of the Ministry of Supply and co-operated successfully with the Allied economic controls. Later became Director-General of the Ministry of National Economy. Is also Chief of Staff (nominal) of the Security Forces. Appointed Minister of National Economy in June 1947. Resigned July 1948. Has since acquired some business interests. A capable officer and an efficient administrator.

94. Muhieddin Nsouli

A Sunni Moslem journalist and merchant of Beirut, born 1900. Proprietor of the newspaper *Beirut*. Ex-Deputy. During the 1928 Palestine troubles wrote violent anti-British articles and in 1941 was interned as an Axis sympathiser, but while interned wrote strongly pro-Allied articles and on his release continued to collaborate effectively. Has political ambitions. An average Beirut journalist.

95. Izzedin Omari

A Sunni Moslem of Iraqi origin, born about 1887. Was for several years a judge and has been governor of various districts. Was Chief of Police from 1935 to 1937, when he was retired as a result of a scandal; was reinstated in the same position in 1942, but again dismissed in October 1943. Active and a disciplinarian, but venal and subservient; consequently not respected.

96. Henri Pharaon

A Greek Catholic banker of Beirut, born 1902. Socially prominent and a leading racehorse owner. Popular amongst the middle and lower classes; now poses as the champion of the Christians' interests. Ostentatiously generous and hospitable. Contributed to finances of Constitutional Party of President Khoury, to whom he is related through the Chiha family, and bought himself into the Chamber in September 1943 as a Deputy for the Bekaa district. Worked behind the scenes until January 1945 when he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Justice. Was in office until August 1945. Reappointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in December 1946. Re-elected Deputy in 1947. Aspires to the presidency in succession to Sheikh Béchara el Khoury. Has made great efforts to extend his influence through elements outside the Constitutional Party (e.g., the Phalangists) and has as a result had clashes with the President, of whom he has been on occasion openly critical. Has boycotted the Chamber for some time in order not to express his hostility to the Government publicly. Opened a campaign for limited electoral reform early in 1950 and reached a compromise agreement

with the President to increase the number of electoral districts to eight and the number of seats from fifty-five to seventy-seven in the 1951 Chamber. Suspicious of Moslem influence and of the Arab League. Anti-Communist and was for some time honorary president of the Anti-Communist "Labour Front" of Trade Unions; pro-British but uneasy about British pro-Moslem policy. Tends to favour the instinctive Lebanese attitude of non-discrimination and neutrality.

Intelligent, ambitious but impetuous and somewhat arrogant.

97. Nasser Raad

Sunni Moslem from Sir, born 1905. Practised as a magistrate until 1945, when he was appointed as public prosecutor to the Lebanese Military Court and given the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Appointed Chief of Lebanese Police September 1946; is married to a German. Suspended by Riad es Solh in his capacity of Minister of the Interior for three months in 1950; cat's-paw in the Riad es Solh-Sheikh Selim el Khouri quarrel.

98. Dr. Moustafa Rifai

A Sunni Moslem of Baalbeck, born about 1895. A well-educated and strict Moslem of an old Syrian family, descendants of the Prophet. Kind, simple-hearted, and much respected. His political tendency is towards Damascus and the National Bloc.

99. General Nureddin Rifai

A Sunni Moslem of Tripoli. Born about 1895. After serving in the Gendarmerie was appointed Administrator of North Lebanon.

A firm administrator and a good officer. Inclined to be somewhat severe.

100. Amin Saad

A Maronite of Ain Traz, born 1898. Nephew of a former President, by virtue of which relationship he became a Minister in the first "independent" Lebanese Government, but proved a complete failure and is unlikely to hold further office. A foolish and negligible character. Re-elected a Deputy in 1943 on Eddé's list and was one of the small group of Opposition Deputies in the Chamber. Is on good terms with Kamal Jumblat.

101. Abdel Rahman Sahmarani

A Sunni Moslem. Born in Beirut in 1903. Studied political economy at the Sorbonne. On the death of Omar Daouk in 1949 was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce. A member of the Supreme Council of National Economy since 1924. Pleasant personality, honest and well balanced.

102. Ali Salam

A Sunni Moslem proprietor of Beirut, born 1897. The eldest of the eight sons of the late Salim Salam, a follower of King Feisal; professes pan-Arab and pro-British ideas and has some influence. A bumptious and rather tiresome person, who has, however, never wavered in his support for the British cause.

103. Mohammed Salam

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut. Born 1897 of a leading family of Beirut. Brother of Ali and Saib (Nos. 102 and 104). Graduate of the American University of Beirut. President of the Moslem College of Al Maqassed al Khairayah.

104. Saib Salam

A younger brother of No. 102, less forceful but more reasonable. Elected a Deputy in September 1943, and is regarded as the most prominent of the

younger Moslems. Minister of Interior May-December 1946. Pro-British and anti-Communist. Intelligent and able, but is handicapped by the mercenary activities of his brother. Withdrew his candidature in 1947 elections.

105. Anis Saleh

Maronite from Antelias near Beirut, born 1907. A magistrate since 1930, and has spent most of his time in the Inspectorate of Justice. Appointed Director of the Ministry of Justice in August 1946, later Director-General. Also acting Director-General of the Interior February 1950.

Very clever, a hard worker, and believed to be honest but something of an opportunist. Most co-operative.

106. Joseph Salem

A Greek Catholic of Tyre, born 1897. Manager of the Beirut Water Company and in 1946 appointed a director of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban. Has considerable political influence in South Lebanon. Has Nationalist leanings and was always closely associated with Riad Solh. Lebanese Minister in Cairo 1944 to August 1945. Minister of Interior August 1945 to April 1946. When on his return from Paris (he was a member of the Lebanese delegation which negotiated the Evacuation Agreement) he resigned following a disagreement with the President.

Honest and intelligent, well-balanced and far-sighted but not over courageous. On good terms with His Majesty's Legation. Unsuccessful in 1947 elections; now on bad terms with Riad Solh.

107. Colonel Taufik Salem

A Greek Orthodox of Tyre. Born 1904. Joined the French army of the Levant 1923 and attended a military college in France for two years. Chief of Staff of the Lebanese army since 1945. A good soldier, honest, inclined to be pro-French.

108. Joseph Saouda

Born 1888, graduate of the French University in Beirut and licencié en droit of the University of Paris. 1909 to 1922 practised law at the Mixed Court of Appeal at Alexandria. Helped to found the Alliance Libanaise d'Egypte, a movement to promote Lebanese independence, and eventually became its president. In 1923 he moved to the Court of Appeal at Beirut and two years later he was elected a Deputy. He lost his seat in 1937 and his newspaper was suspended by the French High Commissioner in 1938; since then he has taken no active part in politics. He has, however, written numerous studies on legal and political questions affecting the Lebanon which on occasion have had political repercussions.

He is a fanatical Christian and fears Moslem domination, but at the same time has consistently opposed French domination of the Lebanon. He is not wholly trustworthy and is inclined to be argumentative, but is very intelligent and well-disposed to us. Appointed Lebanese Minister to Brazil in 1946. Stood for the 1947 elections but withdrew his candidature.

109. Ramez Sarkis

A Protestant journalist of Beirut, born 1891. Owner of the Beirut newspaper *Lisan ul Hal*. Was Minister of Education in the first "independent" Lebanese Government, but proved exceptionally incompetent and is unlikely to hold further office. Professes pro-British sentiments, having had an Anglo-Saxon education, but is a colourless personality who carries no weight.

110. Sami Shoucair

A Greek Orthodox of Beirut. Born 1923. A nephew of the President of the Republic and of Michel Chiha (No. 37). Educated at the Jesuit University of Beirut and studied engineering for three years in the United States of America. Appointed Director of Civil Aviation in August 1950 by contract, that is, he is not a regular civil servant. Wealthy, honest and a hard worker.

111. Alfred Skaf

A Greek Catholic of Zahlé, born 1907. Member of a prominent Bekaa family. His appointment as Minister in the first "independent" Lebanese Government was his first introduction to public life; as Minister of Supply he tried hard, but found the problems involved too great for his mediocre intelligence and did not retain his office when the Government fell. Not over-scrupulous. Was unsuccessful in the 1943 election when he opposed Henri Pharaon in the Bekaa, and is actively engaged in extra-parliamentary opposition.

112. Joseph Skaf

A Greek Catholic of Zahlé, born 1922. Rich. Popular even among the Shias. Elected Deputy in May 1947 in South Lebanon, having stood down in favour of Henri Pharaon in his own constituency of the Bekaa.

113. Riad es Solh

A Sunni Moslem of Sidon, born 1893. Early became known as a fanatical adherent of the Arab cause, but escaped internment by the Turks in 1914-18 because his father had been a Turkish official. Governor of South Lebanon for a few months in 1919. Refused all collaboration with the mandatory authorities and was exiled by them for two months in 1935. Constantly advocated the cause of Arab independence and unity; acquired much influence amongst Moslems in the Lebanon and elsewhere, but was feared and distrusted by many Christians. Until 1943 held no Government office and generally effaced himself, to emerge periodically as a Moslem leader in a crisis. Entered the Lebanese Chamber in September 1943 and was appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. At once adopted a bold Nationalist programme which, unhesitatingly pursued, brought his Government into violent conflict with the French, the November crisis resulting. Since then has proved himself an adroit negotiator and forceful debater, but with little aptitude for, or interest in, administration. Resigned the Premiership in January 1945, and soon regained some of the popularity which he lost while in office. Attracted and virtually assumed the leadership of elements opposed to Henri Pharaon and to the Pharaon-Chiha-Khoury consortium. Rivalry with Pharaon kept him out of office until December 1946, when he and Pharaon were obliged to combine to form a coalition Government strong enough to hold elections. Collaborated well with both the President and Pharaon during the electoral campaign. Re-elected Deputy (May 1947) and re-formed his Government in following June.

Though at heart pan-Arab, he accepted in 1943 the experiment of a "bi-national" independent Lebanon, and, consequently, is not unpopular with the Christians.

With an Arab, almost an international, reputation, he is probably the nearest Lebanese approach to a statesman. Has great personality; supple rather than strong; shrewd and an able politician. Persistently anti-French. Flirted with the Germans between 1938-40; subsequently courted the British, with whom he collaborated well. Has given proof of his understanding for the British position and

of his willingness to help. His main loyalty, however, is probably to his own not wholly disinterested aspirations.

114. Kazem Solh

A Sunni Moslem of Beirut, born in 1903. He is a Nationalist and is president of the National Appeal Party. A cousin of Riad Solh. Appointed Lebanese Minister to Bagdad in 1946, but did not proceed until the summer of 1947. Honest, intelligent and well balanced.

115. Sami es Solh

A Sunni Moslem of Sidon, born 1891. Educated in Istanbul. In 1920 was an official of the Hejaz Railway. Cousin of No. 113. Subsequently entered the Lebanese magistrature and held several posts, including that of president of the Court of Cassation. His appointment as Prime Minister of the second "independent" Lebanese Government in July 1942 was his first introduction to political life. Plunged into a variety of undigested schemes and defied the French, but was soon brought to heel. After his dismissal in March 1943 returned to his magisterial post. Elected a Deputy in September 1943. Appointed Prime Minister, also holding portfolios of Commerce and National Economy and Posts and Telegraphs, August 1945. Relinquished Ministries of National Economy and Posts and Telegraphs April 1946. Resigned premiership May 1946.

A well-meaning, impulsive but fundamentally foolish man whose extreme vanity makes him unreliable and a bad judge of character. Jealous of his cousin Riad Solh, a much abler man. Not unpopular with middle and lower class Moslems. Re-elected Deputy in May 1947.

116. Ibrahim Sursock

A prominent Greek Orthodox of Beirut, born 1912, very rich. Son of Madame Linda Sursock ("Châtelaine du Liban") and member of the Sursock family which with the Trads, Bustros and Tabets form the cosmopolitan aristocracy of Beirut and still retain some indirect political influence. French educated but has British connexions, especially commercial (his company are agents for Rolls Royce and Bentleys). More interested in business than in politics.

117. Emile Tabet

A Maronite proprietor of Beirut, born 1879. Brother of No. 119, but was long estranged from him. Has strong pro-British views, which he has expressed to any British official who would listen during the last twenty-five years. Ex-Deputy. Not nowadays taken seriously. Rich and avaricious, but good-hearted.

118. Georges Tabet

A Maronite landowner of Beirut, born 1891. Several times a Minister and a candidate for the presidency. President of the Maronite Council and of the Maronite Charitable Association. Since his failure in 1943 elections has lost much of his influence amongst middle and lower class Christians but notoriously untruthful and not trusted. Unsuccessful in 1947 elections.

119. Jacques Tabet

A Maronite landowner of Beirut, born 1887. Very rich, and socially prominent; holds views on economic problems but plays no part in political life. Unpopular on account of his meanness but not ill-intentioned.

120. Bahij Takieddin

A Druze lawyer of Baaklin. Born 1908. The brother of Khalil Takieddin (No. 121). Elected Deputy 1947, appointed Minister of Agriculture September 1949. Is a sincere Nationalist and supporter of the Arslan faction of Druzes. Clever and well-educated but like the rest of his family he is an opportunist. One of the few Deputies who speak well in the Chamber.

121. Khalil Takieddin

Belongs to one of the leading Druze families, born in 1905. French educated, but is an Arab poet with a considerable local reputation. Entered Government service in 1925, when he was appointed Private Secretary to the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies. Later transferred to Ministry of Education, where he reached the rank of Director. After two years (1941-42) in the Ministry of Supply, he returned to the Chamber as Secretary in 1943, and was subsequently promoted to be Secretary-General with the rank of Director-General in the Lebanese civil service. Appointed Lebanese Minister in Moscow in 1946.

He is a man of pleasant manners, but is inclined to be obsequious. Undoubtedly clever, he has the reputation of being an opportunist and is notoriously venal. During the 1943 November crisis went into hiding with the remnants of the Government and thereby increased his standing with the local Nationalists.

Prior to his appointment to Moscow curried favour with the Soviet Legation.

122. Philippe Tacla

Greek Catholic, born in Zouk Mikayl in 1914. A lawyer by profession. Well-educated, intelligent, honest and well-disposed. He entered the Chamber in 1945 in the by-election following death of his brother Selim, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs. He belongs to the Constitutional Liberal Party; faithful supporter of President Khoury. Minister for Foreign Affairs May to December 1946. Re-elected Deputy May 1947. Minister of National Economy from July 1948 to October 1949 when he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Married to a rich heiress of the Ma'alouf family of São Paulo (Brazil).

123. Dr. Jamil Talhouk

A Druze landowner of Aley, born 1887. Comes of a leading Druze family which has a traditional friendship with the British. Of mediocre intelligence, shrewd and obstinate. Re-elected a Deputy in September 1943 on Eddé's list, but soon severed his connexion with him. Minister of Supplies and Minister of Agriculture January to August 1945. Minister of Health August 1945 to May 1946. Did not stand in 1947 elections.

124. Salim Tayara

A Sunni Moslem proprietor of Beirut, born 1887. Ex-Mayor of Beirut and has held several municipal posts. Has much influence amongst the Moslem middle classes. Honest but mediocre. Closely associated with the Salam family.

125. Fozi Trabulsi, Colonel

A Maronite of Deir-el-Kamar, born 1901. Lebanese gendarmerie officer until 1939, when, having quarrelled with his French chief, he left the service. Reinstated on 10th November, 1943, as Inspector-General of Lebanese gendarmerie and police. Later became Officer Commanding Public Security Forces of the Lebanese Republic, and in 1945 was promoted to full colonel. Superseded following differences with Henri Pharaon. Personal friend of Camille Chamoun. Honest and loyal, but tactless, excitable and of mediocre intelligence.

126. Gabriel Trad

A Greek Orthodox banker and landowner of Beirut. Born 1893. Educated at the Jesuit University of Beirut. Honest but stupid. Personal friend of the President, with whom he plays bridge. President of various charitable organisations and chairman of Races Committee. Although he has so far taken no direct part in politics his name has been mentioned frequently as a possible Minister if a neutral Government were to be appointed to supervise the 1951 elections.

127. Gibran Tuéni

A Greek Orthodox journalist of Beirut, born 1891. Owns *An-Nahar*, the leading Arabic daily, and is the best Lebanese journalist. Once a Minister. Formerly belonged to the Constitutional Party but now independent. An intelligent and outspoken critic with strong Nationalist ideas. In 1945 was elected president of the Press Syndicate. Now Lebanese Minister to the Argentine.

128. Charles Tyan

A Maronite of Beirut, of a leading family. Born 1900. In 1943 appointed head of the Department of concessionary companies in the Ministry of Public Works, and in 1949 put in charge of the communications and transport section of the same Ministry. Venal but knows his job.

129. Me. Adel Usseyran

A Shia Moslem proprietor and lawyer of Sidon, born 1903. One of the two strongest personalities of South Lebanon, the other being his rival Ahmed el Assad. Elected a Deputy in September 1943, and was appointed Minister of Supply, Commerce and Industry, but was eliminated from the Ministry in July 1944. A close associate of Riad Solh, of whom, however, he is on occasion critical. Strong Nationalist but generally pro-British. A strong character; blunt and uncompromising. Well educated (American University of Beirut). Successful in 1947 elections.

130. Me. Abdullah Yafi

A Sunni Moslem lawyer of Beirut, born 1899. Was Prime Minister in 1936, re-elected a Deputy in September 1943. Formerly the only prominent Moslem follower of Emile Eddé, but has broken with him and supports the present régime. Member of Lebanese delegation to San Francisco in April 1945. Was appointed lawyer of the Banque de Syrie in 1945. Minister of Justice December 1946-June 1947, and Acting Minister of Finance until Camille Chamoun's return in March 1947. Successful in 1947 elections. A somewhat colourless, though well-intentioned person.

131. Yusuf ez-Zain

A Shia Moslem from Nabatiyeh, born about 1873. Deputy. Has some following in South Lebanon. Shifty and venal. Successful in 1947 elections.

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Khaled Abdel Khader.
Me. Taufiq (Toto) Awad.
Me. Ibrahim Azar.
Omar Daouk.
Me. Emile Eddé.
Sheikh Sayed Istéphan.
Sheikh Yusef Istéphan.
Abdel Hamid Kerami.
Sheikh Farid el Khazen.
Alfred Nasr.
Habib Trad.
Me. Pierre (Petro) Trad.

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6. Mgr. Pierre Dib.
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37. Sheikh Ali Mizhir.

Religious Personalities**Maronites****1. Mgr. Antoine Abed**

Maronite Archbishop of Tripoli, including the Lattakia district, born 1901. Became archbishop in 1931. Moderately cultured; interested with his brothers in commercial enterprises, very pro-French.

2. Mgr. Boulos Akl

Maronite Archbishop of Laodicee (Lattakia)—at one time second vicar to the Patriarch, born 1884; resides at Shamat in the Jebeil district. Quarrelled with the Patriarch in 1936. Intelligent, low morality and rarely tells the truth; an intriguer with a reputation for dishonesty.

3. His Beatitude Antoine Pierre Arida

Maronite Patriarch, born 1863, from Becharré (North Lebanon); the largest landowner in the Lebanon; sly and crafty, sole interest is his own personal gain. Maronite Archbishop of Tripoli (Lebanon) 1908. Was elected Patriarch in 1932, his election being confirmed by the Pope the following year. Opposed French mandatory authorities on several occasions, but he still considers the French are the natural protectors of Christians in the Levant States. His relations with the Holy See are not always cordial. When it became apparent that his mental faculties were beginning to fail, a supervisory commission of three was appointed by the Vatican. Its members are Monseigneurs Boulos Meoushi (No. 8), Ignace Ziadi (No. 11) and Pierre Dib (No. 6).

He is personally wealthy; obstinate and obtuse; little respected as a man but, nevertheless, carries considerable weight in local politics. Frequently critical of the present régime.

Received Grand Cordon of the Légion d'Honneur in 1947.

4. Mgr. Francis Ayoub

Maronite Archbishop of Cyprus, residing at Kornet-Shahwan, near Bikfaya, born about 1894, well-educated and wealthy.

5. Mgr. Augustin Bustani

Maronite Archbishop of South Lebanon residing at Beit-Iddin, born in 1872 of a leading Maronite family of Deir-el-Kamar. An intelligent and well-educated intriguer with a pro-French reputation; has always been a close friend of Nazira Jumblat; has shown on more than one occasion unfriendly feelings towards the British, and has been consistently opposed to Béchara Khoury.

6. Mgr. Pierre Dib

Maronite Archbishop of Cairo. Born about 1885. Learned and leads a good life. Pro-French, and a member of the Commission of Three appointed by the Pope. Lives generally at Bkerke.

7. Mgr. Hanna el Haj

From Jedeidy Kistrwan, born 1885. Appointed Maronite Archbishop of Damascus 1928 (resides in Reifoun, Lebanon). Supporter of President Khoury. Suspended from office by the Vatican in 1946; he is facing charges affecting his private life. Venal and cunning.

8. Mgr. Boulos Meoushi

Maronite Archbishop of Haifa residing at Tyre, born 1892, from Jezzín; has been in the United States and speaks English; sensible, devout and respected; takes no part in politics.

9. Mgr. Ignace Moubarak

Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, born 1876, from Rachmaya (Mount Lebanon). Studied in Rome; appointed to his present See in 1919. Impulsive, courageous and somewhat quarrelsome when thwarted; critical of his Patriarch, with whom he is on indifferent terms. On several occasions publicly criticised the French and played a dignified part in the crisis of November 1943. Nationalist but not consistently so. Has made approaches to the British, but will support any authorities who will

favour his community. Anti-Communist. Came out in favour of Emile Eddé in the 1947 elections and violently attacked President Khoury.

10. Mgr. Elias Risha

Maronite Archbishop of Baalbeck but resides in Bkerke, born 1874. Uneducated, wealthy, venal and stupid.

11. Mgr. Ignace Ziadi

Born at Jdeidet Ghazir in 1906. Ordained Maronite Archbishop of Aleppo in 1948 but lives normally at Bkerke. Succeeded Mgr. Abdallah Khoury as a member of the Papal Commission of Three. Educated, pleasant personality.

Greek Catholic

12. Mgr. Youssef Kallas

Greek Catholic Archbishop of North Lebanon residing in Tripoli, born about 1878; well educated—has a reputation for honesty; with no particular, political leanings.

13. Mgr. Basilios Khoury

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Saida, born 1900. Was always on best of terms with the French. Superior of "St. Sauveur" Convent at Joun in 1937. Carried on collaboration with the French after November 1943 and lately caught red-handed sheltering a criminal but matter was hushed up. Appointed Archbishop of Saida in March 1947. Educated, intelligent.

14. Mgr. Youssef Malouf

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Baalbeck, born about 1898. Was appointed by Rome. Intelligent and ambitious; aimed at becoming the next Greek Catholic Patriarch, but as a result of supporting the French after November 1943 is not acceptable to the Lebanese authorities. Visited North America in 1946-47, when he indulged in anti-régime propaganda.

15. Mgr. Philippos Nab'a

Greek Catholic Bishop of Beirut. Born about 1905. Educated in Rome. Friendly.

16. Mgr. Aghabious Naoum

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Tyre, born 1882. No particular tendencies.

17. Mgr. Maximos Sayegh

Greek Catholic Patriarch, born 1878, from Aleppo. Was appointed Archbishop of Tyre in 1919 and of Beirut in 1933. Patriarch 1947. Well liked by his community, to whom he devotes himself. On the whole pro-French, but advocates an Anglo-French-American guarantee of an independent Lebanon. Is consistently anti-Communist and has on occasion delivered anti-Communist sermons.

18. Mgr. Aftimos Youakim

Greek Catholic Archbishop of the Bekaa, residing at Zahlé, born about 1884. Well educated, on good terms with the French, not popular with his congregation.

Greek Orthodox

19. Mgr. Elia Karam

Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Mount Lebanon, residing at Hadad, near Beirut; born in 1896 from Bhamdun. Speaks no foreign language other than

a little Russian, intelligent but venal and hypocritical. Is said to have bribed his colleagues to elect him as archbishop. On good terms with all foreign authorities, particularly French and more recently with Soviet Legation.

20. Mgr. Theodosius Abu-Rjaili

Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Tripoli; born about 1887 from Marjeyun, well educated and intelligent but a bit of a twister; if anything, is pro-British; speaks English. Vaguely anti-Communist.

21. Mgr. Niphon Saba

Greek Orthodox Archbishop of the Bekaa, residing at Zahlé, born about 1884 from Hasbaya, cultivated, has nationalist sentiments, and has shown recently anti-Communist tendencies. Left on a tour of South America in March 1947. On the whole an opportunist.

22. Mgr. Elie Saleeby

Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut, born 1876, from Souk-el-Gharb. Appointed archbishop in 1935 on the death of his predecessor, to whom he had been assistant. Opportunist and is considered dishonest in his handling of the large Wakf of his community, by a large section of which he is distrusted and criticised. Professes staunch friendship for Great Britain. Is on good terms with the Soviet Legation.

23. Mgr. Epiphanius Zayed

Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Lattakia. Born 1892. Once established an Independent Orthodox Church in Tripoli. Maintains friendly relations with Soviet Legation.

Syrian Catholic

24. Mgr. Ephram Hikary

Syrian Catholic Archbishop attached to Cardinal Tapouni, born about 1884 in Mosul. Reputed venal.

25. Cardinal Ignace Gabriel 1st Tappouni

Syrian Catholic Cardinal and Patriarch, born 1879; from Mosul. Appointed Bishop of Srouj and Patriarchal Vicar-General at Mardine in 1913; Archbishop of Aleppo in 1921; elected Patriarch in 1929. Made Cardinal in 1933 at the instance of the French High Commissioner, who desired a counterpoise to the dictatorial pretensions of the Maronite Patriarch. Very pro-French and devoted to the Jesuits; detested by all Moslems, especially those of Syria, for his protection of the Christians in the Jezireh. Considered fanatical and venal. An open critic of the present régime. Received Grand Cordon of the Légion d'Honneur in 1947.

Syrian Orthodox

26. Mgr. Ohanes Kandour

Formerly Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut and the Lebanon, born about 1884 from Mardin. Owing to a disordered private life was deprived of his bishopric. Is now living at Harissa as a Syrian Catholic.

27. Mgr. Mar Sourarios Yacoub

Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut and the Lebanon. Born in Mosul about 1905. Spent some years in South India as Patriarchal Legate. Appointed to See of Beirut, December 1950. Speaks English well and professes pro-British feelings.

Armenian Orthodox

28. Mgr. Karekin Hovsepian

Armenian Catholicos, born about 1867; of Caucasian origin. Formerly Bishop of Echmiatzine, Armenia, was later appointed Catholicos of Cilicia. Came to Lebanon with Armenian emigrants in 1923. Does little to combat the spread of communism among his community. Favours return of Armenians to Soviet Armenia. On good terms with the Russian Legation. Educated in Germany and Russia.

29. Mgr. Ardavast Surmeyan

Born in Turkey 1887. Was 16 years in Aleppo as Archimandrite and later in Antelias, Mount Lebanon, as Archbishop. Went to Paris in July 1946, where he is now Vicar-General of the Catholicos. Intelligent, though an opportunist and pretentious. Is in favour of good relations with Russia.

Armenian Catholic

30. Grégoire Pierre XV Aghajanian

Armenian Catholic Patriarch of Cilicia and acknowledged as Patriarch by Armenian Catholics throughout the world. Originally from Tiflis, but now resident in Beirut; born 1895. Studied and taught at Rome. Became a priest in 1917, bishop in 1935 and patriarch in 1937. Elevated to rank of Cardinal 1945. Pro-French but is on good terms with Lebanese authorities. Anti-Communist and opposed to emigration of Armenians to Soviet Armenia. Well disposed towards Great Britain.

Highly cultivated and speaks several languages. A clever diplomat. An outstanding personality.

31. Louis Batanian

Armenian Catholic Patriarchal Vicar-General of Beirut, born 1899. Became a priest in 1921 and bishop in 1933. Worked successively in Egypt, Iraq and the Lebanon. Highly cultivated, speaks several languages. Shares the views of Cardinal Aghajanian.

Jew

32. Hakham Laghtman

Born about 1891 in Poland. He came to Beirut in 1935 and following the death of Shabali Bhabut in 1948 has acted as Rabbi. Has little influence and the Jewish community are looking for a suitable incumbent.

Sunni

33. Sheikh Muhammed Taufiq Khalid

Sunni Mufti of the Lebanese Republic, born about 1878; from Beirut. Became anti-British over the Zionist question in Palestine and early in the war was strongly pro-Axis; had numerous contacts with the German and Italian Armistice Commissions. Formerly considered not sufficiently energetic in defence of Moslem interests and consequently not highly thought of by his community, but enhanced his prestige in the summer of 1943 by his advocacy of the Moslem case on an electoral issue; and is now on reasonably good terms with the British.

Shia

34. Seyyid Abdul Hussein Sharafeddin

Chief of the Shia Ulema (Mujahiddin), born about 1867; resides near Tyre, of which his son is Mufti. Was a student at Najaf. Strongly anti-Christian and xenophobe; during the 1936-38 Palestine troubles preached the Jihad against the British, but refused to support the Vichy authorities against the British in 1941 because no Moslem interest was involved. Tried to play off the British authorities against the French after the Allied occupation. Enjoys considerable prestige in Moslem religious circles.

Druzes

35. Sheikh Mohamad Abdul Samad

A Druze, born in the Shuf, Mount Lebanon, in 1869. Elected Grand Sheikh el Akl in September 1946 as a result of the support of the Emir Adel Arslan, to whose faction he belongs. Well disposed towards the British.

36. Sheikh Mohammed Abu Shakra

Druze Sheikh ul Akl. Born 1869 and living at Amatour. Belongs to the Jumblatt faction.

37. Ali Mizhir

Born Hamana 1896. Lawyer. Unsuccessful candidate in 1943 elections, in which he stood on Emile Eddé's list. Appointed by Lebanese Government in 1945 as Kadi of the Druzes. An opportunist and an intriguer.

Obituary since Last Report

Mgr. Abdulla Khoury.
Mgr. Ignatios Nouri.
Shabelai Bhabut.
Sheikh Husain Talik.

EL 1902/1

No. 9

THE LEBANON: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Chapman-Andrews to Mr. Morrison. (Received 18th August)

(No. 87. Confidential)

Beirut,

Sir,

8th August, 1951.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on the Heads of Foreign Missions accredited to the Lebanon.

2. As I am myself but newly arrived at Beirut, I have been obliged to reproduce substantially my predecessor's reports, while

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amending them to fit my own impressions where I have been able to form any.

I am sending copies of this despatch, with enclosure, to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Alexandria and Bagdad, to His Majesty's Minister at Damascus and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

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Enclosure in No. 9

Heads of Foreign Missions in the Lebanon, 1951

Argentina

M. Carlos R. Pineyro, minister. (12th December, 1949.)

An agreeable and friendly seeming man. Was consul-general here in 1941 and has a German wife who was at that time not unnaturally suspect. She is a pleasant person and dresses well. He is a keen shot and ranges the desert at week-ends far into Syria in search of game.

Belgium

Count Geoffrey d'Aspremont-Lynden, minister. (22nd December, 1946.)

Also accredited to Syria. A sociable, easy personality with a vague, pleasant enough and very social wife. He has a certain amount to do here as there are several large Belgian commercial concerns. He is a keen shot and horseman.

Brazil

M. Carlos Martins Thompson-Flores, minister. (10th August, 1948.)

Also accredited to Syria.

A very agreeable colleague of the forthcoming type, but as he has no real work to do here, what issues from him is mostly of a pleasant social nature. His wife is handsome and affable. She speaks French. The minister also speaks a little English. They live next door and are good neighbours.

Chile

M. Luis N. Feliu, minister. (22nd February, 1949.)

Also accredited to Syria.

A rather dreary-looking but quite friendly, though very *protocolaire*, person who lives with his somewhat dull and dowdy wife in a hotel as he cannot be bothered to keep house.

Colombia

Dr. Rodolfo Garcia Garcia, minister. (14th June, 1949.)

Quite an agreeable little man, though of course without any real work to occupy him; he has a hypochondriacal wife. He is affable on such occasions as one meets them, which is not often.

Czechoslovakia

M. Karel Stanek, chargé d'affaires *a.i.* (10th November, 1945.)

Also accredited to Syria.

A man of paternal and benign appearance, though he is said to be an ardent exponent of communism and works in the closest touch with the Russians. He knows the country and conditions well, having been here nearly four years. He has a wife but she does not appear in public.

Egypt

Mohamed Wagih Rustom Bey, minister. (25th January, 1949.)

An agreeable man of rubicund appearance and a genial manner. To talk to he appears to be sensible and moderate and is at all times very friendly. I am not quite sure, however, whether he may not be, at least to a mild extent, something of a *faux bonhomme*. He served for a short period in 1945 as counsellor in London and was later an Under-Secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. His second wife, whom he married fairly recently, is a well turned-out, attractive woman, a good deal younger than her husband and, I am told, comfortably endowed. They do things well.

France

Count Armand du Chayla, minister. (7th July, 1946.)

A bachelor of about 53 who, being almost a physical culture maniac, does not look his age. He is well turned-out, does things well and entertains on a lavish scale at his truly palatial residence in its park-like grounds. He has the reputation of having a good war record in the French resistance movement. He is superficially an agreeable and friendly colleague, but, except when one makes the running oneself, is disinclined to discuss politics. He sides strongly with the Christian element in the Lebanon and makes a great show of visiting the Maronite hierarchy, ostentatiously attending masses, and so on. He does not conceal his contempt for the Moslems. He has a good position in rich Lebanese society.

Greece

M. Nicolas Hadji Vassiliou, chargé d'affaires *en pied*. (20th August, 1947.)

Also accredited to Syria, Iraq and Jordan.

An affable and rather self-important busybody, who is always very obviously on the lookout for "news"; he is very keen to collaborate closely with us in all fields. He is an agreeable but rather tiring man, who speaks French and English fluently. His wife is nice, too. He was recalled to Athens for a time in 1951 at his own request, for employment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, but has since returned to Beirut.

Holy See

Mgr. Giuseppe Beltrami, Nuncio. (2nd December, 1950.)

A dignified ecclesiastic of the old school with polished manners. Anxious to be friendly and having, from his own account, narrowly escaped being lynched during anti-clerical riots in South America, is very sensitive to "confessional" differences among the Lebanese and fearful of the further growth of the Moslem element in the population.

Iraq

M. Ibrahim Khodeiri, minister. (21st March, 1950.)

Was for many years a civil servant before taking to diplomacy, though was Iraqi consul (at Kerman-shah) twenty years ago. A very friendly and co-operative colleague. He has a quiet dignity and is gradually building up a position for himself. Speaks English fluently—his wife less so.

Italy

M. Vittorio Castellani Pastoris, minister. (18th February, 1950.)

Rather a colourless but kindly and affable personality with a wife to match. He knows this part of the world well, having in the past been consul at Damascus and later a member of the Italian Armistice Commission in Syria. He is well informed and is a pleasant and courteous colleague. They entertain well.

Jordan

Dr. Jamel Bey Toukan, minister. (12th October, 1950.)

A Palestinian, previously Mutessarif of Jerusalem and a senior official in the former British Palestine Administration. Speaks excellent English and a most affable and friendly colleague. He seeks our co-operation in all matters where we have common interests. His wife is shy and gentle and only attends receptions when she has to.

Mexico

M. Antonio Mendez Fernandez, minister. (30th December, 1949.)

Also accredited to Syria and Iraq.

A typical South American diplomat, he is polite, affable and the sort of person that one is never sorry to see but to whom one can think of little to say, and who has nothing to talk about except the latest party. He has nothing to do and does it well.

Persia

M. Aboul-Ghassem Pourevally, minister. (17th December, 1949.)

Also accredited to Syria.

A nice, friendly colleague and a career diplomatist. He has a pleasant and decorative German wife. Whenever one meets them they are gushingly friendly.

Peru

M. Jorge Bailey-Lembcke, minister. (8th May, 1951.)

A middle-aged bachelor with no work to do. He speaks excellent English and French and is out to enjoy the social pleasures of Beirut.

Poland ("London Committee")

M. Zigmunt Zawadowski, minister. (17th August, 1944.)

Until the enforced dissolution, in July 1945, of the Government which he claims to represent, M. Zawadowski enjoyed a good position here, partly because the Lebanese were grateful to Poland for being the first country after Great Britain and France to recognise their independence. Since then his position has become increasingly equivocal (written in 1947) and now all except some sixty or so infirm or undesirable Polish refugees having been evacuated to England and elsewhere it is becoming less and less clear why the London Committee should have diplomatic representation in the Lebanon at all. He says that he has enough money to keep him going for another year or so, and I think such qualities as he may possess are more or less "for sale." Like most of his countrymen he is a born intriguer, but his great asset is that he is rabidly anti-Communist. He is married, but his wife and daughter prefer to live in Paris.

Saudi Arabia

Said Bey el Rashash, chargé d'affaires. (11th December, 1946.)

A Damascene, formerly in Bagdad. Is always friendly and generally speaking co-operative, making great play of the relations between his sovereign and His Majesty's Government. Somewhat overshadowed by the fact that the Saudi Arabian Minister in Damascus (Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ibn Said), an ancient and sick man, who speaks no European language, comes over to Beirut to represent Saudi Arabia at the more important official occasions.

Soviet Union

M. V. A. Belyaev, minister. (16th March, 1951.)

Also accredited to Syria.

Young in appearance but stiff and formal, rarely smiling, with a young and well-dressed wife. Speaks French. Always prepared to engage in conversation if approached, but is usually disinclined to take the first step.

Spain

Don Joaquín del Castillo y Caballero, Marqués de Castro-Torres, minister. (12th May, 1949.)

Also accredited to Syria.

An affable and cultured man who does not expect to have very much to do here and looks forward to the shooting season in Syria. He is well disposed and was, after the Spanish civil war, consul at Newcastle-on-Tyne for some years. He speaks French and rather bad English. His wife is a very charming lady, and they are an asset to our rather dull diplomatic corps. Most of their eight children are with them here.

Switzerland

Dr. Franz Kappeler, minister. (1st March, 1950.)

Also accredited to Syria.

Spent some years as counsellor in Berlin during the war. A quiet but charming person, he and his wife are always friendly and live a quiet and happy family life with their four sons.

Turkey

M. Calal Osman Abacioglu, minister. (3rd May, 1945.)

A hypochondriacal Turk of the old school. Somewhat pompous and formal. Is given to speechifying in the course of private conversation. He and his rather dim wife are most friendly. He is a good colleague but one of those who are more apt to seek than to impart information.

United States

Mr. Lovell Pinkerton, minister. (26th February, 1947.)

Having served in London, Australia, New Zealand, &c., this is his first post outside the British Empire. He was, I believe, eight years consul-general at Jerusalem before coming here. He is very friendly and co-operative, and I think utterly reliable. He has a nice wife. He is an admirable colleague and, though not personally in sympathy with the Zionist policy of his Government, has comported himself with great dignity and has had no difficulty in retaining the respect and affection of the Lebanese officials.

Yugoslavia

M. Ljubo Kovachevitch, chargé d'affaires *a.i.* (27th April, 1951.)

Also accredited to Syria.

He and his wife (newly-weds) speak French and are learning English. Both are somewhat lost and bored in Beirut and almost pathetically anxious to be on friendly terms.

Ministers Accredited to the Lebanon but Resident Elsewhere

Afghanistan

Ghulam Yahya Tarzi (3rd August, 1948). Bagdad.

Norway

M. Francis Irgens (15th November, 1949). Cairo.

Saudi Arabia

Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ibn Zeid (16th February, 1945). Damascus.

Sweden

Count Gustav Bonde, chargé d'affaires *a.i.* (12th May, 1951). Cairo.

Ethiopia

M. Taffesse Habte-Mikaal (2nd August, 1949). Cairo.

Netherlands

Count van Rechteran Limburg (17th November, 1949). Cairo.